A grammar sketch of Lhomi by Olavi Vesalainen
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## Morpheme Gloss Abbreviations

| 1 | first person | IMMED | immediative aspect |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2 | second person | IMP | imperative |
| 3 | third person | IMP2 | non-proximate non- <br> immediative imperative |
| ABL | ablative case | IN | inessive case |
| ABS | absolutive case | INCH | inchoative aspect |

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| ADJ | adjective | INCL | inclusive |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ADJVZR | adjectivizer | INCLN | inclusion |
| ADV | adverb | INDF | indefinite |
| ADVZR | adverbializer | INFER | inference |
| AID | aid marker | INS | instrumental case |
| ALL | allative case | INTNS | intensifier |
| AP | adverbial phrase | LOC | locative case |
| AUX | auxiliary verb | M1 | masculine classifier 1 |
| CEP | counter-expectation particle | M2 | masculine classifier 2 |
| CFP | counterfactual particle | MIR | mirative particle |
| COM | comitative case | N | noun |
| COMP1 | comparative process | NFT1 | nonfinite verbal suffix -na |
| COMP2 | comparative state | NFT2 | nonfinite verbal suffix -ni |
| COMP.BASIS | comparative basis | NFT3 | nonfinite verbal suffix -tcan |
| COMPL | completive aspect | NMLZ | verb nominalizer, generic |
| CONFIRM | confirmation particle | NPST | nonpast tense |
| CONJ | conjunct marker for agentive verbs | NUM | numeral |
| CONTR1 | contrastive particle ma di | ORD | ordinal number classifier |
| CONTR2 | contrastive particle jan | PL1 | plural marker for associates |
| COP | copular verb | PL2 | plural marker, generic |
| DAT | dative case | POST | postposition |
| DEF | definite article | PP | postpositional phrase |
| DEM | demonstrative | PPRF | past perfect tense |
| DEMP | demonstrative phrase | PRF | perfect |
| DET | determiner | PROB | probability, pontentiality |
| DETERM | determination particle | PROG | progressive aspect |
| DISCL | disclaimer or "hearsay" particle | PRON | pronoun |
| DM | developmental particle | PST | past tense |
| DRDEM | distal remote demonstrative | PUNC | punctiliar |
| EMPH | emphatic clitic | PURP | purposive |
| EMPHP | emphatic particle | Q | question clitic |
| ERG | ergative case | QUANT | quantifier |
| EXCL | exclusive | RDEM | remote demonstrative |
| EXIST | existential verb | RECP | reciprocal |
| EXP | direct experience | RSPNS | response paricle |
| EXPR | expressive manner adverbs | SAP | speaker's acceptance particle |
| F1 | feminine classifier 1 | SBJV | subjunctive |
| F2 | feminine classifier 2 | SCA | speaker's call for attention |
| FOC | contrastive focus clitic | SCAP | speaker's compassionate |


|  |  |  | attitude particle |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| GEN | genitive case | SCI | speaker centered imperative |
| HAB | habitual aspect | SCP | spearker's corrective particle |
| HAP | hearer's agreement particle | SEC | speaker's embarassment clitic |
| HCP | hearer's confirmation particle | SECA | speaker's emphatic call for <br> attention |
| HON | honorific word | SHC | summoning for hearer's <br> confirmation |
| HON- | honorific classifier | SG | singular |
| HORT | hortative | SRP | speaker's rectifying particle |
| HUM 1 | human classifier 1 | SUP | superlative |
|  |  | V | verb |
|  |  | Vbzr | lexically empty head of some <br> VPs |
|  |  | VIP | very important <br> participant/theme |
|  |  | VOC[HON] | vocative case |
|  |  |  |  |

## Transcription

All examples are given in phonemic form. The square brackets [] are occasionally used to mark in Lhomi text the syntactic unit which is under discussion. They are not used for phonetic transcription in this paper.

The transcription used in this paper is briefly as follows:

- IPA symbols are used with few exceptions, e.g. ta 'hair'.
- Aspiration is written with the letter h like in /ph/, e.g. 'tsho 'lake', pha 'cow'.
- Phonetic variants are not normally written in this write-up.
- In gemination both consonants are written except when the IPA symbol has two letters in which case only half of the first consonant is written e.g. 'khesea 'barking deer', kettca 'language'.
- Single quote at the beginning of a Lhomi word marks it as tense (high register) word. e.g. 'tshiriŋ 'Chiring', 'ama 'mother', 'mellam 'blessing',
- In English glosses and proper names I have followed the spelling of the source if there is one. Otherwise I have used the same spelling as for the Lhomi text.
- Nepali loan words typically adapt to Lhomi phonology and I have used the adapted form rather than the romanized Nepali spelling.
- For Lhomi proper names I have used the same transcription as for any other Lhomi text unless a diffrent Roman spelling has been established, e.g. 'Chiring, Jyaabu Lhomi.

In high register words (high tone or tense) initial unaspirated voiceless stops and
voiceless affricates mark the whole word as high register word, e.g. tsoŋkok 'onion', t6aa 'iron', kanpa 'leg', passan 'chin'.

Similarly, in low register words initial unaspirated voiced obstruents b, d, d, g, dz, $\mathrm{d} z$ mark the whole word as a low register word, e.g. daku 'friend', da 'enemy, opponent'.

In high register words which begin with aspirated obstruents, fricatives, laterals, sonorants, approximants or vowels the single quote preceding the initial phoneme marks the word as high register word, e.g. 'tsha 'salt', 'amna 'attention, heed'.

Lhomi text and examples appear in bold and morphemes are hyphenated. Morpheme by morpheme translation follows. English translation is in italics and in single quotes. A comment line (not in italics) often follows the English translation as a separate paragraph.

There is more information of transcription rules in section on Phonology in 1.1.

## Preface

My Lhomi studies began in fall of 1972 when I hiked with my German colleague Andreas Holzhausen to Lhomi country to collect word lists and short sentences. Lhomis, being Buddhists were never accepted as recruits for the British army like members of other Tibeto-Burman ethnic groups had been for a century or more. There were no Lhomis living in Kathmandu in those days. There was a community living in Darjeeling district of West Bengal in India at that time but we did not know about them.

We flew to Tumlingtar in the southern part of Sankhuwa Sabha district of Koshi Zone, East Nepal. From Tumlingtar to the north there was only a narrow foot path.It took several days before we met any Lhomis on the trail. Our route was Khandbari, Pangma, Num, Pheksinda, Hedangna, Simla, Laamobagar, Seksum, Sempung and Hatiya. Only the last three villages were inhabited by Lhomis. We were able to get some linguistic data which to our knowledge was the first ever collected from Lhomis. Actually FürerHaimendorf, an anthropologist, had been there with his Nepali assistants already in 1957 but we had no access to his data, (see Fürer-Haimendorf, Christoph von. 1975.
Himalayan Traders: Life in highland Nepal. London: John Murray:106).
The data for the current grammar write-up was collected over the years up till 2005 when we left Nepal for good to be on full retirement in Finland. At that time we also resigned from SILI which had been our entity all those years. We did have desire to go back but our health has not permitted. However we had committed to hand over to our former entity all linguistic data we had collected. Therefore I did some reading in order to be able to arrange mostly hand written data in such a way that SILI and other linguists could understand and perhaps benefit from it. This was the sole purpose for writing this grammar. My linguistic knowledge was very meager indeed and that is still true. Up till early 2012 while writing this paper I had no consultant help. Since April 2012 Dr. Austin Hale has helped me to see what I need to change and add. Particularly he has pointed out what additional reading I had to do. He helped me a lot but his other priorities cut short his consultation for me. The reference books and articles listed at the end of this sketch have been helpful.

There are a lot of examples to illustrate the points under discussion. Some come from elicitation and some from natural texts, which are numbered from TE1 through TE99. Some texts were originally oral and then transcribed by myself. However some are originally written texts. As for elicitation I have always tried to explain the context very carefully to my language teacher. Sometimes it has been the other way around. All examples represent the dialect spoken in Chepuwa village, 'thaymu 'trhi for Lhomis.

This sketch really deals only with Lhomi morphosyntax. I have done virtually no research on Lhomi phonology since mid '70's. I also lack first-hand comparative data from closely related neighboring languages.I will make occasional reference to work that others have done on Lhomi, Sherpa, Yohlmo, Jirel, Lhasa Tibetan, Kham, and Newar.

## Acknowledgements

First I want to express my thanks to all my former colleagues of SILI in Nepal. It was also a privilege to work under the auspices of the Tribhuvan University of Nepal in seventies. My wife Marja and I began to work on Lhomi in the spring of 1973 and have continued until our retirement in 2006. The work has not been without rather lengthy interruptions for sick leaves and work assignments in Finland.

Our study over the years has benefited a lot from Dr. Austin Hale. His linguistic insight and one-on-one consulting have helped us significantly as have his more recent papers on Newar language and his consultation in writing this paper. We also got some consultant help from Dr. Joseph Grimes in the early days of our studies in Kathmandu. Many of our former SILI colleagues like the late Dr. David Watters, the late Dr. Maria Hari, Dr. Ross Caughley, Dr. Christopher P. Wilde, Miss Esther Strahm, Miss Anita Maibaum and Miss Marlene Schulze have helped greatly either through their writings or oral communication. We owe our gratitude also to Stephen Watters who has done an insightful study on Lhomi tone system.

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Last but not least is my own wife Marja who has given many helpful comments on this grammar sketch. She has been my faithful companion throughout the process of my Lhomi studies. I use the single first person throughout this write-up because I have been the one to arrange and write up the data. Without faithful, patient and competent language teachers I would have had neither insight nor data. I alone am responsible for any mistakes and other wrong ideas or conclusions.

## 1. The people and their language

## Map 1.1 Geographic location and the name of the language

Traditional Lhomi area is inside the black line on this map (the red line is the border of PRC and Nepal)


Nowadays majority of Lhomis live in the northern part of Arun valley of Sankhuwa Sabha district in East Nepal. To the east there is a village called Thudam but Lhomis do not consider them as part of the Lhomi group though the language is apparently closely related. To the south there are some scattered Gurungs, Tamangs, Khaling Rais and further south Yamphu Rais (e.g. Hedangna village). On the western slope of the Arun river valley there are Sherpas in the Seduwa area and some scattered hamlets further to the north as well. To the west of the Lhomi area there are no neighbours because the eastern slopes of Makalu are so steep.

To the north there are several villages (e.g. Kima Thanka, Chumusur, Piipu) which are inhabited by people whom Lhomis call 'naapaa. Lhomis regard them as a separate ethnic group whose language is related but different from their own tongue. I have no data to say anything more.

Right at the northern border on the China side there is a village called Lungdøt. Lhomis used to inter-marry with them until the mid sixties when all contacts to the north were severed. Lhomis consider them to be Lhomis even though the dialect is slightly different.

In recent years many Lhomis have moved to live or to study in Kathmandu and their number is supposed to be in hundreds. There is also a permanent Lhomi population living in the district headquarters in Khandbari. Darjeeling district in West Bengal India has had

Lhomis for more than a hundred years. Some of them live there permanently, others travel back and forth to their home villages in Nepal.

In 2008 Lhomis themselves estimated that there may be around 8000 Lhomis living in their traditional area. If that is true then the total population may be around 10000 or more. Some Lhomis put their estimate as high as 15000 . The census of 2002 has only 4 Lhomis listed among all other ethnic groups in the whole country. It is very likely that they were included under such generic terms Bhote or Sherpa in that census. Professor Chura Mani Bandhu puts the number of Lhomis at 4000 (Bandhu, Chura Mani. 2003:9. The preservation and development of Himalayan languages, In Tej Ratna Kansakar and Mark Turin, eds. Themes in Himalayan Languages and Linguistics. Heidelberg: South Asia Institute and Kathmandu: Tribhuvan University). However he does not give his source for this figure. My own estimate is that the real figure is somewhere between 4000 and 7000. For a more accurate figure we still have to wait for another survey that would cover the traditional Lhomi area, Khandbari, North-India and Kathmandu. In early 2012 there were 250 Lhomi families living temporarily or permanently in Kathmandu. This is the estimate of Lhomis themselves.

At the time when my wife and I were living in Chepuwa village in the early 70's Lhomis could not really give the name of their ethnic identity or their language. The term Lhomi was imposed by some outsiders namely Naapaa people, we were told. Bista uses the term Lhomi which he claims was used by Lhomis to refer to themselves (see Bista, Dor Bahadur. 1967. People of Nepal. Kathmandu: Department of Publicity, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, His Majesty's Government of Nepal [reprinted Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar.1972]: 169)

Bista had actually visited the area in 1957 along with a foreign anthropologist Christoph von Führer-Haimendorf. For a while this was the only written source where this term was used. There is a whole chapter (4 pages) written about Lhomis in this book.

In his book, Himalayan Traders, Führer-Haimendorf devotes more than 20 pages to Lhomis. He uses the terms Lhomi or Kar Bhote. I have never heard any Lhomi to accept the latter term for his ethnic identity or language. About the language he writes: "The Sherpas who had accompanied me to the Arun region found it difficult to communicate with the Lhomis by using their own language or the Tibetan they were familiar with, and had to use Nepali in order to make themselves understood....The Lhomis clearly speak a language very different from standard Tibetan." (see Fürer-Haimendorf, Christoph von. 1975. Himalayan Traders: Life in highland Nepal. London: John Murray:117)

As for the ethnic name of Lhomis there is not yet universally accepted term. Some have accepted the term Bhote or Bhote which in Eastern Nepal refers to all Tibetan looking people and is somewhat derogatory. Lhomis never use this term of themselves. It is regarded as a term given by outsiders. I believe that this term comes either from the romanized Tibetan written word bod or Sanskrit bhot which both refer to Tibet (see Jäschke, Heinrich August.1881. A Tibetan-English Dictionary with special reference to the prevailing dialects; to which is added an English-Tibetan vocabulary:372).

More respected and perhaps most widely used term is Lama. This term may appear only in official documents as the surname of a person. The person may not be a religious
functionary at all. Often it is purely for official purposes. Hindus down in the lower parts of Arun valley respect all lamas and therefore it has been convenient for many Lhomis to adopt this term for official purposes.

In Darjeeling and Kalimpong areas in West Bengal India Lhomis are sometimes called 'sinsaapa but Lhomis in Nepal never use that term for themselves. When asked, some Lhomis have commented that it may mean 'a person who collects firewood’. One can arrive at this by translating the parts of this compound: ' 6 in 'firewood', 'sak 'to gather, to accumulate something' and -pa a human classifier. Lhomis in Nepal do not recognize this term at all though they are aware that the term is used in India for their ethnic group living there.

The term 'Iho-mi means 'a southern person'. It is used by Tibetans as a generic term for all those who live in southern parts of Tibet. When those Tibetans who live close to Lhomi area use this term they do refer to the ethnic group of Lhomis as we know them. Very few Lhomis have adopted the term 'Ihomi as their surname. Now that the ethnicity has become an important part of the identity of a Nepali person, this term has gained more acceptance. In passports and identification papers the terms Lama and Bhote still remain the most common ethnic names (surnames) for a Lhomi person.

For the language Lhomis nowadays often use the same term but they also use another more accurate one namely 'Iho-ket which means 'southern language‘. Another autoglottonym for the language is 'Iho-mi-ki kettrok which means 'the language of Lhomi' or 'Iho-mi dZyk-ki kettcok, 'language of Lhomi tribe'. Throughout this paper I will be using the term Lhomi to refer both to people and their language.

Lhomis have always felt that they are a Tibetan-related people group. They have never used the term phøt (bod in Tibetan) as a reference for themselves. The term is used for those who either live in Tibet or have come earlier as refugees to Nepal from there. Lhomis use phøp-pa referring to Tibetan people and phøk-ket to their language. However they do feel that they have originally come from the north. It is obvious that there are no historical records to prove it. They recognize that Tibetan and Lhomi are related languages. There are some historical narratives that tell how the first Lhomis came but there is no mention of where they came from. An ethnomusicologist who had studied Tibetan folk music told me that Lhomi music (singing and dancing) is very much like the music of Tingri area in Tibet. Tingri is over 100 km north-west from Lhomi area. Lhomis have never mentioned anything about links to Tingri.There may be more to say once we know more about the spoken dialects in those areas of Tibet.

As for the religion of Lhomis it is quite a bit different from the dominant sect of lamaism called "yellow hats" in Tibet. Before China took control of southern Tibet Lhomis used to send their chief lamas to study in Tibetan monasteries. I have heard Shigatse being mentioned as such a place. Every Lhomi village has at least few lamas but the area never had a monastery. All celibate lamas I met in 70s were Tibetan refugees. Lhomi lamas marry just like anybody else. They may occasionally go to meditate in a cave but otherwise they live like anybody else. It is the Karmapa sect in Tibet that allows their lamas to have families as does also the Ngingmapa sect. The village lamas learn to recite from the Tibetan lamaistic books which are highly valued and kept in homes as treasures. Lack of
monastic system has probably allowed the Lhomi language to develop on its own without much influence from written Tibetan, a situation which is quite different from what we find among the Sherpas of Solu Khumbu. In last two decades the trading links between Lhomis and Tibetans across the border have been developing again.

Lamas are called to give the name to a newly born baby, to perform post-mortem rites for one who has died and to recite on other occasions from the lamaistic books for the benefit of a family. However when a person becomes sick it is the shaman who is called. One of the terms Lhomis use for a shaman is 'lopøn or 'lopen. He uses various ways e.g. falling in trance to find out the name of the offended god. Then he placates with animal sacrifices the unhappy deity who is thought to have caused the sickness. An evil god may have taken and kept in captivity the vital part of the victim's personality ('la). I assume that this is so called pre-buddhist religion of Tibet which I believe was a kind of shamanism. Lhomis also have some animistic local deities and festivals. More recently they have been observing some Hindu festivals. All this suggests that Lhomis may have lived in their current home area for a long time, perhaps several centuries.

As for literacy among Lhomis the current rate is probably around the national average or less. This means ability to read and write Nepali using Devanagri script. A bi-lingual Lhomi-Nepali literacy campaign ended in 2012 and produced over 400 new literate Lhomis, mostly women. The campaign was extended for three more years. For centuries there have always been some Lhomi men who have been literate in Tibetan. Not only that but they have been able to write their own language in Tibetan script as well. They have used so called Tibetan hand writing script and they still do have old marriage and trade documents in their own language.

The current socio-linguistic data collected by SILI 2008 classifies Lhomi as belonging to Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Himalayish, Tibeto-Kanauri, Tibetic, Tibetan, Central. Ethnologue 2009 has this information about Lhomi: "Lexical similarity: 69\% with Dolpo [dre], 68\% with Lowa [loy], 66\% with Walungge [ola], 65\% with Lhasa Tibetan [bod] and Kyerung [kgy], 64\% with Nubri [kte], 60\% with Helambu Sherpa [scp], 58\% with Sherpa [xsr], 57\% with Jirel [jul]." (Lewis, M. Paul ed. 2009.Ethnologue:Languages of the World, Sixteenth edition. Dallas, Tex: SIL International Online Version). I have done no dialect survey and therefore decline to make any comments at this point.

The dialect of Lhomi used in this grammar write-up represents the dialect spoken in Chepuwa village.

### 1.1 Phonology

Since the scope of this paper is primarily morphosyntax I do not go into details on phonology. For years I have made only casual observations on Lhomi phonology and therefore I cannot really add much to Lhomi phonology at this time. However I do correct in this section some early errors in our segmental analysis of Lhomi phonology as we presented it in Lhomi Phonemic Summary,(Vesalainen, Olavi and Marja. 1976. Lhomi
phonemic summary. Summer Institute of Linguistics, Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies. Kathmandu: Tribhuvan University). Furthermore I also make some comments on
the article "An acoustic look at pitch in Lhomi". (Watters, Stephen A. 2003. An acoustic look at pitch in Lhomi. In Tej Ratna Kansakar \& Mark Turin, eds. Themes in Himalayan languages and linguistics. Heidelberg: South Asia Institute and Kathmandu: Tribhuvan University. Pp. 249-264).

Table 1.1 Lhomi consonant phonemes

|  | Bilabial | Alveolar | Retroflex | Alveo-palatal | Velar |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Stops voiceless | p | t | t |  | k |
| Aspirated stops voiceless | ph | th | th |  | kh |
| Afficates |  | ts |  | t6 |  |
| Aspirated affricates |  | tsh |  | tsh |  |
| Fricatives voiceless |  | s |  | $\mathbf{6}$ | h |
| Lateral approximant |  | l |  |  |  |
| Aspirated lateral approximant |  | lh |  |  |  |
| Alveolar lateral approximant |  | r |  |  |  |
| Nasals | m | n |  |  | ⿹ |
| Approximants | w |  |  | j |  |

## Some basic features of consonant phonemes in word initial position

-Voiceless unaspirated obstruents /p/, /t/, / t/, /k/, /ts/, /t $/ /$, voiceless variant of the lateral approximant /r/ and aspirated lateral /lh/ occur only in words of high register.
-Voiced unaspirated obstruents b, d, d, g, dz, dz and voiced variant of lateral /r/ occur only in words of low register. In other words they are not contrastive with voiceless counterparts, see also the section on medial position.
-Voiceless aspirated obstruents ph, th, th, kh, tsh and t6h do occur in words of low register but they remain voiceless or "devoiced" like some call it, (see Watters, Stephen A. 2003. An acoustic look at pitch in Lhomi. In Tej Ratna Kansakar \& Mark Turin, eds.

Themes in Himalayan languages and linguistics:259).
-Voiceless fricatives /s/ and / $/ 6 /$, voiced lateral $/ / /$, voiced variant of alveolar lateral approximant $/ \mathrm{r} /$, nasals and approximants $/ \mathrm{w} /$ and $/ \mathrm{j} /$ occur in words of high and low register. Lhomi lacks contrastive voiced series of fricatives and also palatalized nasal which is significant compared to other related languages.

Some basic features of consonant phonemes in word medial position
-Aspirated consonants never occur word medially in word compounds but do occur following a negation prefix, see chapters 10 and 12.4.
-All unaspirated consonants may occur word medially in gemination. They are written with a double consonant unless the IPA symbol has two letters in which case the first letter is dropped, e.g. 'khakkø 'command, order', 'khesea 'barking deer', kettea 'language'.
-Gemination of voiceless fricatives (except /h/), nasals and laterals (except /hh/) is contrastive in this position with a single phoneme in the same environment, e.g. tounni 'twelve', tounin 'four years hence'.
-Following nasals all unaspirated obstruents become voiced. I transcribe them as voiceless because of predictability, e.g. 'phim-pen 'I went'.
-Also intervocalically all unaspirated obstruents become voiced. There is more voicing in low register words than in high register words which is obvious, e.g. phitsa 'child', papa 'father'.
-As for approximants $/ \mathrm{j} /$ and $/ \mathrm{w} /$ we have interpreted them as consonants and consequently do not write diphtongs, e.g. dawa 'month', 'tshajik 'grandson'.
-Aspirated lateral /lh/ never occurs in word medial or word final position.
-Following laterals /r/, II/ all obstruents are geminated. This is predictable and we write only a single obstruent, e.g. 'phurpu 'Phurpu', 'sal-ket 'word of revelation'.
-Nasal /n/ assimilates to homorganic nasal when followed by obstruents, e.g. lin-son 'he took', lim-pen 'I took'.
-Nasal /n/ also assimilates to laterals /// and /r/ which follow it. There is no audible nasal vowel, e.g. lin, lil-let (base form is lin), tøn, tøl-let, tøm-pen (base form is tøn). In transcribing I write the assimilated form in this paper.
-Syllable final alveolar stop /t/ assimilates to following obstruents and fricatives (except /h/), e.g. døk-køt, døk-køt-to, det-tøun, des-son (base form is døt).
-Syllable final alveolar stop /t/ changes to its variant glottal stop when a nasal or a lateral follows it, e.g. døt-ro, det-na, 'lit-mon.

## Some basic features of consonant phonemes in word final position

-The following consonants occur in word final position: /p/, /t/, /k/, /m/, /n/, /n/, /I/ and /r/. Lateral /// is very rare in this position.
-A word final /t/ and /k/ in isolation changes to glottal stop. In this position these two phonemes can be sorted out on morphological grounds.
-Fricatives, affricates and retroflex stops may occur word finally only in Nepali or English loan words.

Table 1.2 Lhomi vowel phonemes

|  | Front <br> unrounded | Front rounded | Central <br> half open <br> unrounded | Back rounded |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| close | $\mathbf{i}$ | $\mathbf{Y}$ |  | $\mathbf{u}$ |
| close-mid | $\mathbf{e}$ | $\boldsymbol{\varnothing}$ |  | $\mathbf{o}$ |
| open-mid |  |  | $\mathbf{a}$ |  |
| open |  |  |  |  |

Vowel phonemes

The table 1.2 is slightly revised from the one we have presented earlier (Vesalainen, Olavi and Marja. 1976. Lhomi phonemic summary. Summer Institute of Linguistics, Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies. Kathmandu: Tribhuvan University:p.31)

This change is partly based on my own observaton and partly on the study of Stephen Watters mentioned earlier. The central vowel has several phonetic variants like half close central but I cannot go deeper into that now. I admit that I am little bit on shaky ground here and I do not have solid data to confirm this correction.

As for the length of the central vowel phoneme I still argue that it is contrastive if the melody is ignored. And I am marking it in this current transcription with two vowels. There is morphological evidence to support this, the genitive case marker for a word final a is -e but for a word final aa it is $\mathbf{- k i}, ~ e . g$. 'n-e 'of an oath' 'naa-ki, 'wild sheep's'. As for the Lhomi vowel length in general I do not claim that it is the only feature by which the native speakers go by.

All the way through my studies I have known that the pitch contours (rising and falling melodies) are somehow connected to the vowel length. However I never had a chance to re-analyse the Lhomi phonology with more sophisticated computer assisted devices, e.g. CECIL. A bit later in section on tone I return back to what Stephen Watters says about pitch and tone in Lhomi.

## Some basic features of the vowel phonemes

-All vowels may occur word initially or word finally. All vowels, particularly /a/ have several phonetic variants which I have ignored in this write-up.
-For vowels /i/, /a/, /u/, /o/ the length is contrastive in open syllables, if we ignore the pitch contours (melody). Length never occurs in closed syllables, but it does occur in second syllable though more rarely. Vowel length is written with two vowels.
-Front vowels /e/, /ø/ and / $\mathrm{y} /$ are always longer in open syllables than in closed syllables. This is predictable and therefore it is not written in transcription.
-Nasalization is very rare in Lhomi.The verbal suffix -ken NMLZ;CONJ.Q which marks the nonpast conjunct question (2.person) loses the final nasal consonant $/ \mathrm{n} /$ and the remaining vowel is weakly nasalized.
-Lhomi has the following contrastive syllable patterns: V, CV, CVC, VC.

## Tone

-A Lhomi word is either a high register word or a low register word. This means that the phonation of the vowels is either clear or breathy. This is the salient feature of Lhomi tonology. Stephen Watters comes to the same kind of conclusion:"Pitch height is not always contrastive in monosyllables that begin with sonorants. Rather the salient register contrast is voice quality, modal or breathy."(see Watters, Stephen A. 2003. An acoustic look at pitch in Lhomi. In Tej Ratna Kansakar \& Mark Turin, eds. Themes in Himalayan languages and linguistics:253).
-My observation is that the pitch is not very well audible with most male speakers. It is the clear and creaky vowels that help the hearer to distinguish between high and low
register words. Some women speakers seem to change the pitch also. I argue that it is the vowel quality (tense/lax) that is contrastive not the pitch. High register (tense) words are also more stressed than the low register ones (word stress). These observations need to be either confirmed or refuted by a detailed study.
-In a CV type high register word there is an audible voiceless vowel following the final clear vowel. Whereas a CV type word in low register does not have a voiceless vowel following the final creaky/breathy vowel. This is natural because the sub-glottal pressure is higher in phonation of clear vowels and when the phonation ends there is an audible puff of air (=voiceless vowel). S.Watters uses the terms [+stiff] and [-spread] for this (see Watters, Stephen A. 2003. An acoustic look at pitch in Lhomi. In Tej Ratna Kansakar \& Mark Turin, eds. Themes in Himalayan languages and linguistics:261). He also says about Lhomi open syllables: "Short syllables often end in slight aspiration." (p. 249). I believe that this is the same effect I just mentioned.

Stephen Watters says in the same article on page 254:"Vowel length is contrastive on the first syllable of disyllabic words, but not on the second syllable. It may be that when the first syllable of a disyllabic word is long it attracts stress, or that the lengthening of the syllable results it from being stressed." I would like to argue for the first option without giving any concrete evidence at this point. It is true that very rarely if ever do the vowels u and $\mathbf{o}$ become lengthened on the second syllable. However there are a lot of disyllabic words which have long central vowel aa, e.g. ta-paa 'horse rider', tsaypaa 'a lizard', dzinkaa 'wrestling', tsyntcaa 'urine', 'tshaaraa 'selfish'. Some more research needs to be carried out in this area.

What S.Watters says about "devoiced breathy" on page 256 I certainly agree. If I also understand correctly the table on page 261 I have nothing to add or comment about it.

When S. Watters says in his conclusion section on page 263 that the pitch in Lhomi is syllable based rather than word based I have some reservations. If he means that it is the first syllable that determines the pitch and voice quality of the whole word, I fully agree. As I stated before I have no hard evidence to back up my comments. I do appreciate the study of S.Watters on Lhomi pitch and regard it superior to our earlier tonal studies of Lhomi.

## 2. Nouns and noun morphology

Monomorphemic noun roots in Lhomi may have up to 3 syllables. Most of them have only 1 or 2 . Compound and complex nouns are treated under word formation in chapter 10. Nouns which are derived from verbs are discussed under verb nominalization in chapter 16.
-Nouns can fill any of the verbal arguments like subject, object, indirect object or any semantic roles like agent, patient, dative, instrument etc.
-Head of the NP is always a noun or a NP.
-Nouns inflect for case.
-Nouns can be modified by determiners, adjectives, quantifiers, adverbs, demonstratives, articles and postpositions.

The following list illustrates some monosyllabic and monomorphemic time-stable Lhomi nouns:

Table 2.1 Monosyllabic noun roots

| Monosyllabic N root | English | Monosyllabic N root | English |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 'khim | 'house' | 'tohu | 'water' |
| khur | 'tent' | 'phu | 'high uninhabited area' |
| juu | 'village' | la | 'mountain pass' |
| mi | 'man' | 'sa | 'piece of land' |
| mi | 'fire' | 'nam | 'sky' |
| phu | 'son' | 'khaa | 'snow' |
| prn | 'cousin brother' | 'tsho | 'lake' |
| 'thak | 'blood' | tsan | 'thistle, spike' |
| '6a | 'meat' | tsøn | 'jail' |
| 'tsha | 'salt' | thi | 'large knife' |
| 'kha | 'mouth' | pø | 'juniper tree’ |
| '口in | 'heart' | 'sim | 'mind, intellectual center' |
| lam | 'footpath, road' | le | 'work' |
| ta | 'horse' | bak | 'thin variety of bamboo' |
| pha | 'cow' | 'クaa | 'large drum' |
| 'lan | 'bull' | sik | 'leopard' |
| 'jak | 'yak' | thom | 'bear' |
| luk | 'sheep' | 'laa | 'musk deer' |
| ra | 'goat' | 'naa | 'blue sheep' |
| t6ha | 'chicken, bird' | ki | 'dog' |

Though all Lhomi verb roots are monosyllabic, a good number of prototypical monomorphemic noun roots are disyllabic. The following table 2.2 has some of them:

Table 2.2 Disyllabic noun roots

| Disyllabic N root | English | Disyllabic N root | English |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| jima | 'sun, day' | gomak | 'egg' |
| karma | 'star' | baalik | 'bamboo mat' |
| pessam | 'bamboo suspension bridge' | tsiipu | 'bamboo basket' |
| 'tshumpuk | 'small rivulet' | 'kheta | 'load' |
| tari | 'axe | 'lama | 'lama' |
| 'khassok | 'small knife' | toto | 'elder brother' |
| dojpu | 'tree' | phitsa | 'child' |


| jankrt | 'pumpkin' | daku | 'friend' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| phenet | 'millet' | pippa | 'leech' |
| 'soja | 'unhusked rice' | doole | 'monkey' |
| sinka | 'cultivated field' | 'aalak | 'common crow' |
| 'suku | 'paper' | '6omak | 'leaf of a tree' |
| 'thakpa | 'rope' | raari | 'woolen blanket' |
| piimun | 'knee' | rekket | 'mountain goat' |
| 'amtcok | 'ear' | dzumak | 'intestines' |
| 'nattok | 'nose' | 6aare | 'face[HON]' |
| 'manraa | 'beard' | tsanpaa | 'lizard' |
| kiraa | 'hunting' | tsilaa | 'tongue' (body part) |
| namsaa | 'clothing[HON]' | buktsaa | 'cymbals' |

There are not many three or four syllable noun stems in Lhomi. In my lexical files I found only some 40-50 of these nouns. Some of these may actually be compounds and therefore they are not really prototypical noun roots. Majority of Lhomi monomorphemic noun roots are 1 or 2 syllable words. The following list displays some of the longer noun roots:

| 'ajkurse | 'hook' |
| :---: | :---: |
| apilima | 'a wild edible vegetable' |
| apirik | 'wild custard apple' |
| tcaapijaa | 'small variety of gnats' |
| t6ukkoja | 'heavy drinker' |
| kikkura | 'lower back' |
| jittuwa | 'rel. holiday' |
| gojara | 'thyphoid fever' |
| 'omosok | 'woolen cap' |
| pitcekpa | 'grasshopper' |
| 'mulaja | 'jaw' |
| pilaya | 'hip' |
| 'khalipa | 'a small fish' |
| 'oporok | 'bud of a flower' |

### 2.1 Honorific nouns

Lhomi has an honorific system just like many other Tibetan related languages have. It covers noun stems, personal pronouns, verb roots and occasionally also adverbs and postpositions. In other words the use of honorifics in various speech acts is very complex. The honorific nouns differ from common nouns in that they require an honorific verb, if there is one, when they occur as a verbal argument in a clause. Also when addressing someone the speaker has to choose between common and honorific noun. As for
inflection there is no difference between common and honorific nouns, except for vocative case.

There is evidence that the use of honorific nouns and honorific address terms is decreasing. This may be due to local communism which focuses on equality of all men. Or it may be a reaction of younger generation to old ways and values or the impact of the English language. There is also a lot of variation from village to village. In certain speech acts there are more than two levels of honorific speech but in the table below, I limit myself to just two way contrast. Honorifics is covered further in section 11 on address terms. Table 2.3 is not exhaustive but it gives some samples of common and honorific pairs among noun stems:

Table 2.3 Common and honorific noun stems listed side by side

| Common | Honorific Counterpart | Gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| papa | jap | 'father' |
| toto | at6o | 'elder brother' |
| phu | 'repu | 'son' |
| phumu | 'remu | 'daughter, girl' |
| siima, na引tsan | tsimen | 'wife' |
| 'lama | mimi | 'lama' |
| kajpa | sap | 'foot, leg' |
| 'so | 'tshim | 'tooth' |
| 'kha | ¢aa | 'mouth' |
| trhetye | saare | 'face' |
| 'amtcok | 'nen | 'ear' |
| 'mapraa | teaaren | 'beard' |
| 'mik | tsen | 'eye’ |
| lakpa | 't6hak | 'hand, arm' |
| 'sim | 'thuu | 'mind, intellectual center' |
| 'nattok | 'Ihakpa, '¢aŋ | 'nose' |
| min | 'tshen | 'name' |
| khø | namsaa | 'clothing, clothes' |
| baksin | tcentan | 'bamboo torch' |
| le | 't6hak-le | 'manual work' |
| iki | 'tshak-jik | 'writing, letter' |
| trhampa | t6ham-t6on | 'act of love' |
| 'trhay | 't6høt-ttan | 'beer' |
| 'rußa | 'tehø-ruy | 'amulet' |
| 'trohø | ka-t6ø | 'lamaism, religion' |
| 'khakkø | ka-køt | 'command, order' |
| lapea | kapt6øn | 'reprimand, rebuke' |
| 'khontok | 'thuusam | 'anger' |


| ro | 'phuppu, ku-pur | 'body of a dead man' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| duksi | 'optsaa | 'hardship, difficulty' |
| tcoktsi | 'sotsok | 'low table to serve food' |
| 'khalak | caalak, dønse | 'dinner party' |
| 'arak | siirak | 'liquor' |
| 'thi | cuu-ti | 'throne, honored seat' |
| 'lu | gullu | 'song, hymn' |
| sypu | kus-sy | 'body of person' |
| tonpa, toŋma | ku6-6aa | 'euphemism for a dead person' |
| ro | ku-ro | 'body of a dead man, corpse' |
| nesso | ku-ne | 'age of a person' |
| thin | kut-tin | 'gratitude, goodness' |

The metalinguistic term which Lhomis use for the honorific language in general and for individual honorific verbs and nouns is sissa (Tibetan zhe-sa). Some of the nouns listed above are monomorphemic, whereas some are $N+N$ compounds and some are $V+N$ complex nouns. These patterns are not different from other noun classes.

The last five nouns in the table 2.3 are formed with the common noun ku. This compounding is not productive though it looks like one, see more in section 2.4.1. There seems to be no particular systematic way to form an honorific noun from a common counterpart or the other way around. As for Tibetan DeLancey (DeLancey, Scott. 1998, Semantic Categorization in Tibetan Honorific Nouns, Anthropological Linguistics 40.1 Pp.114-115) comes up with 4 different sub-classes of compound honorific nouns based on the ways they are formed. Lhomi does not have that many honorific nouns to enable us to find anything like that. Morphophonemic changes are explained in detail under word formation in chapter 10 and there is more about honorifics also in chapter 11.

Grammatically honorific nouns differ from common nouns in that they require an honorific verb if there is one. Those honorific nouns which can be used as address terms combine with the honorific vocative case marker, -laa whose common counterpart is the word ran 'self' which may be used like a vocative when addressing a person and also like a reflexive with personal pronouns. The honorific vocative marker -laa combines also with common nouns and in doing so produces an honorific address term. Unlike Tibetan (DeLancey, Scott. 1998. Semantic Categorization in Tibetan Honorific Nouns, Anthropological Linguistics 40.1:111), Lhomi uses this suffix only in address terms.

DeLancey (DeLancey, Scott. 1998. Semantic Categorization in Tibetan Honorific Nouns, Anthropological Linguistics 40.1:109) says about Tibetan honorific nouns:"...categorization is cultural or social rather than perceptual." This is certainly true of Lhomi honorific nouns as well.

### 2.2 Proper names

Proper names differ from other nouns in the following ways:
-The indefinite article t6ik never collocates with them but the definite article di occasionally does, e.g. 17.146.
-Proper names cannot be modified with quantifiers, adjectives and adverbs.
Every Lhomi person has at least one given name. The weekday when he/she was born automatically becomes the first name and the second one is given by a lama who performs the purification rituals for baby and mother after the birth. A grown-up person is never referred to or addressed by using a given name only. A proper kinship term must always go with it. There are more details in chapter 11 on terms of address.

There are a dozen or so exogamous clans among Lhomis and each clan has its own term. It is this term which is important for an average Lhomi man or woman. In the following table I have listed some given names for Lhomi men and women:

Table 2.4 Given first names of Lhomi men and women
(the first names in these lists refer to weekdays, starting from Sunday on top)

| First names of a Lhomi man | First names of a Lhomi woman |
| :---: | :---: |
| yima 'tshirin | yima 'Ihattouy |
| dawa dzaapu | dawa sanmu |
| 'mikmar 'Ihøntuk | 'mikmar phuttik |
| 'Ihakpa tentsin | 'Ihakpa døma |
| 'phurpu 'aŋtsuk | 'phurpu 'Ihattsik |
| passay 'ritak | passay phuttik |
| pimpa 'クøruk | pimpa krnsayma |

For an average Lhomi man and woman it is important to know the weekday when he/she was born and also the year according to Tibetan calendar. That is needed for astrological calculations. Therefore the weekday appears along with the given name in table 2.4, e.g. passang refers to Friday, pimpa to Saturday etc. If a person has only one given name then the weekday often appears with it when he/she is referred to. This is particularly the case if the kinship term cannot be used. Some Lhomis have two given names and then the weekday hardly ever appears when this person is talked about. However the person does always know it. The following list has some of these names:

## Some double names given to Lhomi women

'trhøsay døma
kessay døma
'tshirin 'aŋmu
kattuk 'Ihamu
Some double names given to Lhomi men
jap dortsi
karma tentsin
pekma 'Ihøntuk
'tshirin tempa

## 'sonam 'tshirin

If a person has important leadership job or a religious title in Lhomi society, it is mentioned first and then the given proper name follows. Lama is the most prominent title which is always used along with a given name. The chief lamas are called mimi in Lhomi. The title of a shaman ('lopøn) along with the given name is not used that often unless he is prominent and well known. Neither the weekday nor the second given name is used when the title identifies the person who is referred to. Here are few examples:

```
'lama 'tshirin 'lama Chiring'
mimi 'tchøpi 'chief lama 't6høpi'
partan nuppu 'village leader Nuppu` (<Nepali pradhan)
```

For a Lhomi person to know his/her own clan name is vital. A Lhomi man is not supposed to marry any girl who belongs to the same paternal clan as he himself does. The total number of Lhomi villages is about a dozen. Some villages have only 1 or 2 clans represented in their population. Some have more. Marriages between first maternal cousins are common. The following table has a list of some Lhomi clans:
petøaapa
'sirpa
'sonam rintsen
thaktokpa
'thikkøppa
'ulin 'phekpa
'jantsam nuppu
'nuppa
tsappa
Some Lhomi villages have also Nepali names which appear in tourist maps but
Lhomis never use those among themselves. To avoid confusion I have listed in table 2.5 some village names with Nepali language counterparts (copied from tourist maps). I have ignored 2-3 villages which Lhomis themselves do not consider Lhomi villages but call people living in them with the term 'naapaa. Unfortunately I have no data of their language. Names of hamlets have also been left out. The last village in the table is actually located across the border in Tibet but the language is mutually intelligible with Lhomi:

Table 2.5 Names of Lhomi villages and their Nepali language counterparts

| Name of a Lhomi village | Nepali language counterpart |
| :--- | :--- |
| pantok | Honggaon |
| 'thaymu 't6hi | Chepuwa |
| damtan | Chyamdang |
| damtan 'mamuk | Hatiya |
| gompa | Gomba |


| rukkama | Rukkum |
| :--- | :--- |
| naamu 'trhi | Namoche, Namche |
| 'tshikuluŋ | Sibrung, Sibun, Sibung, Shebrung |
| 'seksum | Syaksila |
| sempuŋ | Sempung |
| gola | Gola |
| 'luytøt | Lungdöt |

### 2.3 Noun inflection

Table 2.6 Morphophonemic changes in final vowels of noun stems with case markings
(stem final lel, IøI, IyI, laal, luul and lool never change)

| Case | Stem <br> final /i/ | Stem <br> final /ii/ | Stem <br> final /a/ | Stem <br> final /u/ | Stem <br> final /o/ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Gloss | man | joint | father | uncle | lake |
| ABS | mi | 'tshii | papa | 'aku | 'tsho |
| GEN | mi-i | 'tshii-ki | pap-e | 'ak-Y | 'tsh-ø |
| ERG | mi-i | 'tshii-ki | pap-e | 'ak-Y | 'tsh-ø |
| INS | mi-i | 'tshii-ki | pap-e | 'ak-Y | 'tsh-ø |
| DAT | mi-la | 'tshii-la | papa-la | 'aku-la | 'tsho-la |
| IN | --- | 'tshii-na | --- | --- | --- |
| ABL | --- | 'tshii-ni | --- | --- | 'tsho-ni |
| LOC | --- | --- | --- | --- | 'tsho-tu |
| ALL | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| COM | mi-tan | --- | papa-tan | 'aku-tan | --- |

Table 2.7 Morphophonemic changes in final /n/ and /t/ of noun stems with case markings
(other stem final consonants do not change)

| Case | Stem <br> final In/ | Stem <br> final It/ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Gloss | cousin | Tibet |
| ABS | pyn | phøt |
| GEN | pyn-ki | phøk-ki |
| ERG | pyn-ki | phøk-ki |
| INS | pyn-ki | phøk-ki |
| DAT | prl-la | phøt-la |
| IN | --- | --- |
| ABL | --- | phøt-ni |


| LOC | --- | --- |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ALL | --- | --- |
| COM | pyn-tan | phøt-tan |

There are few more inflectional suffixes, e.g. VOC[HON] but they do not impact the stem final vowel or consonant.

### 2.4 Derivation of nouns

### 2.4.1 Honorific classifier ku

There is a common noun ku in Lhomi that compounds with certain nouns to form honorific words. DeLancey claims that Tibetan sku is a noun referring to body (see DeLancey, Scott. 1998. Semantic Categorization in Tibetan Honorific Nouns, Anthropological Linguistics 40.1:113). The Lhomi noun ku may have earlier referred to body but my current data provides no evidence for it.

If it is a word rather than a prefix it would explain why the first member ku of a compound governs the voice quality (tense/lax) for the whole compound word. This is how the word compounding works in Lhomi. There is more about that in chapter 10 on word formation. On the other hand if I choose to regard it as a prefix it would be the only prefix in Lhomi noun morphology. The current meaning of this Lhomi noun is 'an idol or any image representing an object which is worshipped'.

It is only when ku is the first member of a compound that it functions as an honorific classifier. When ku is the last member of a compound it no longer produces an honorific word, e.g. 'sir-ku 'golden idol'.

Noun $\mathbf{k u}$ is a free morpheme that produces a word of tense register even if the latter member of the compound is a lax word. Lhomi word stems have no word medial aspirated obstruents therefore the original initial aspiration is dropped. With sibilants (except $/ \mathrm{h} /$ ) and obstruents gemination takes place, see the examples in table 2.8. The following list illustrates some of those nouns:

Table 2.8 Honorific nouns produced by classifier ku

| ku + common noun | Honorific noun | English meaning |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ku + 'tshap | ku-tsap-a | 'delegate, representative' |
| ku + ly | ku-ly | 'incarnation, body' |
| ku + sy | kus-sy | 'body' |
| ku + ro | ku-ro, 'phunpu | 'body of a dead man' |
| ku + 6aa | ku6-saa | 'body of a dead man'' |
| ku + thin | kut-tin | 'kindness, kind act' |
| ku + nesso | ku-ne | 'age of a person' |
| ku + 'tsham | ku-tsam | 'seclusion for study' |
| ku + jøn | ku-jøn | 'payment for a lama' |

### 2.4.2 Human classifier -pa, HUM1

This suffix combines with monosyllabic and compound noun stems. The noun with this suffix refers to humans and occasionally to gods and evil spirits. Human class nouns produced in this way are rather small closed class. Plural marker PL2 cannot combine with human class nouns.

There are several homophones to this classifier but they are treated elsewhere, e.g. in section 3 . and 4.1 on demonstratives and numerals.

As for morphophonemic changes with this classifier, stem final /t/ becomes /p/ and stem final $/ \mathbf{n} /$ becomes $/ \mathbf{m} /$. If the noun stem ends with $/ \mathbf{p a} /$, the stop $/ \mathbf{p} /$ is dropped from the suffix as in one of the examples below. The nouns on the left hand column of table 2.9 are all free morphemes. Samples in the table below give an idea of how this derivation works:

Table 2.9 Human class nouns produced by classifier -pa

| N stem | Gloss | N-pa | Gloss |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| net | 'sickness, fever' | nep-pa | 'sick person, patient' |
| kynnak | 'thievery, stealing' | kynnak-pa | 'a thief' |
| 'khimtsi | 'neighbour' | 'khimtsi-pa | 'person next door'' |
| 'nøt | 'trouble, harm' | 'nøp-pa | 'generic for evil spirits' |
| 'onren | 'strength, health' | 'oprem-pa | 'dominant, powerful person' |
| 'samtsen | 'epilepsy' | 'samtsem-pa | 'epileptic person' |
| 'loptuk | 'discipleship' | 'loptuk-pa | 'a disciple'' |
| phøt | 'Tibet' | phøp-pa | 'a Tibetan man' |
| dzumtr | 'trick, miracle' | dzumtr-pa | 'miracle performer' |
| t6hakpa | 'robbery' | t6hakpa-a | 'robber' |
| kantsik | 'co-operation' | kant6ik-pa | 'co-worker' |
| thon | 'household, family' | thon-pa | 'people of a household' |

### 2.4.3 Human classifier -paa, HUM2

The difference between this human class and the previous one is somewhat blurry. Nouns of this class seem to refer to permanent local identity of men like residents of a certain village, clan identity and their religious or professional identity. Whereas the classifier -pa seems to produce more generic human class nouns.

If the stem ends with /pal or $/ \mathbf{\eta} /$ the initial stop of the suffix is dropped. If the stem ends with /i/ the initial stop of the suffix is changed to /j/. If the stem ends with /u/ the initial stop of the suffix is changed into $/ \mathrm{w} /$. Stem final $/ \mathrm{n} /$ changes to homorganic nasal $/ \mathrm{m} /$. Stem final /a/changes to /aa/. Consider the following examples:

Table 2.10 Human class nouns produced by classifier -paa

| N | English | N-paa | English |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tsanpa | 'tsangpa clan, lizard' | tsanpa-a | 'a man of tsangpa clan' |


| tsøn | 'prison' | tsøm-paa | 'prisoner' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| go | 'head' | go-paa | 'areal headman' |
| 'kha | 'mouth' | 'kha-paa | 'advocate, defender' |
| lam | 'trail' | lam-paa | 'a guide' |
| gen | 'responsibility' | gem-paa | 'leader,elder' |
| juu | 'village' | juu-paa | 'a villager' |
| pantok | 'pangtok village' | pantok-paa | 'a person of pangtok' |
| 'thanmu 't6hi | 'thangmu 't6hi village' | 'thanmu 't6hi-jaa | 'a person of 'thangmu 't6hi' |
| rukkama | 'rukkama village' | rukkama-a | 'a person of rukkama' |
| damtanma | 'damtangma village' | damtanma-a | 'a person of damtangma' |
| gompa | 'gompa village' | gompa-a | 'a person of gompa' |
| 'tshikulun | 'tshikulung village' | 'tshikulun-aa | 'a person of 'tshikulung' |
| 't6hø | 'lamaism, religion' | 't6hø-paa | 'religious practitioner' |
| ta | 'horse' | ta-paa | 'horse rider' |
| 't6hoo | 'foreign country, side' | 't6hoo-paa | 'foreigner' |
| thu | 'boat' | thu-paa | 'boatman, seaman' |
| na | 'fish' | na-paa | 'fisherman' |
| piipu | 'village called Piipu' | piipu-waa | 'man of Piipu' |

### 2.4.4 Gender

Gender is not normally marked in Lhomi nouns.However there is a closed noun class, mostly kinship terms or domestic animals that may be marked for gender, masculine or feminine. The gender distinction in Lhomi nouns always correlates to natural sex distinctions.

In addition there are some kinship terms that are inherently masculine or feminine but they are not overtly marked as such.

### 2.4.4.1 Gender classifiers -pu and -mu in nouns (м1 and F1)

There are two suffixes that combine with a limited number of nouns to mark the gender, (-pu and -mu). Often the masculine noun is left unmarked and the feminine is marked (-mu).

There are few pairs of inanimate nouns that are marked for gender in table 2.11, e.g. $\boldsymbol{\text { cak-pu }}$ I $\boldsymbol{\text { cak-mu. They }}$. pairs of stems of which only one is marked for gender. They have no reference to natural gender either. If these markers really used to mark feminine and masculine word classes in Proto-Tibetan then Lhomi should have more of this kind inanimate nouns. Glancing through the Apendices of Yohlmu-Nepali-English dictionary I found nothing about gender in Yohlmu. (Hari, Anna Maria \& Chhegu Lama. 2004. Dictionary Yohlmo-Nepali-English (Longer version, including Appendices 1-7). Kathmandu: Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University).

The following list illustrates the use of these classifiers (asterisk marks those nouns that do not occur in the language):

Table 2.11 Gender classifiers -pu and -mu

| Noun Stem | Gender classifier |  | Noun+M1/F1 | English meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | M1 | F1 |  |  |
| trha | -pu |  | tsha-pu | 'rooster' |
| treha |  | -mu | tsha-mu | 'hen' |
| trha |  |  |  | 'chicken, bird' |
| ra | -pu |  | ra-pu | 'male goat' |
| ra |  | -mu | ra-mu | 'female goat' |
| 'trho- | -pu |  | 't6ho-pu | 'husband' |
| 'trho- |  | -mu | 'tsho-mu* | '*wife' |
| nay-tsan |  |  |  | 'wife, spouse' |
| 'trhe | -pu |  | 'trhe-pu | 'male prostitute' |
| 'trohe |  | -mu | 't6he-mu | 'female prostitute' |
| IY |  |  |  | 'body, incarnation' |
| IY | -pu |  | IY-pu | 'body, incarnation' |
| IY |  | -mu | *\|Y-mu | * |
| phu |  |  |  | 'son' |
| phu |  | -mu | phu-mu | 'daughter, girl' |
| 're | -pu |  | 're-pu | 'son[HON]' |
| 're |  | -mu | 're-mu | 'daughter[HON]' |
| gen |  | -mu | gem-mu | 'old woman' |
| gen | -pu |  | gem-pu | 'village leader' (archaic) |
| 'mu- |  | -mu | 'mu-mu | 'great grandma' |
| pu- | -pu |  | pu-pu | 'great grandpa' |
| dzo |  |  | dzo | 'male hybrid of yak and cow' |
| dzo |  | -mu | dzo-mu | 'female hybrid of yak and cow' |
| min | -pu |  | min-pu | 'younger brother' |
| nu- |  | -mu | nu-mu | 'younger sister' |
| tho- | -pu |  | tho-pu | 'bond friend of a man' |
| tho- |  | -mu | tho-mu | 'bond friend of a woman' |
| phøt |  |  | phøp-pa | 'Tibetan man' |
| phøt |  | -mu | phøt-mu | 'Tibetan woman' |
| 'jok | -pu |  | 'jok-pu | 'male servant' |
| 'jok |  | -mu | 'jok-mu | 'maid' |
| 6ak | -pu |  | sak-pu | '24 hour period' |


| cak |  | -mu | sak-mu | '24 hour period' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 'tshen |  |  | 'tshen | 'night |
| 'tshen |  | -mu | 'tshem-mu | 'night, at night' |
| gon |  |  | gon | 'evening' |
| gon |  | -mu | goj-mu | 'evening, in the evening' |
| tøn | -pu |  | tøm-pu | 'fall season, at fall' |
| tøn |  |  | tøn | 'fall season' |
| grn | -pu |  | grm-pu | 'winter season, at winter' |
| gYn |  |  | grn | 'winter season' |
| *sø | -pu |  | sø-pu | 'spring season, at spring' |
| *jap | -pu |  | jap-pu | 'summer season, at summer' |

The following idioms and phrases illustrate how the proper names of gods typically have the masc/fem classifier. The first old idiom refers to remote future and it is a rare example in which an inanimate noun like 'lake' has a feminine classifier. Table 2.11 gives 1-2 more, e.g. єak-pu/єak-mu, tøn/tøm-pu.
2.1 'tsho-mu nam kam 'thuk
lake-F1 when be.dried until
'Until the lake dries.'

## 2.2 de-mu tehoj-aa

house.god-F1 harsh-COMP2
'a harsh house god of Lhomis'

## 2.3 thi-mu

'a wandering soul of a man that bothers others'
Central Tibetan word for a girl or daughter is bu mo which is probably in oral language a single word phu-mo (Goldstein, Melvin C. 1975. Tibetan-English dictionary of modern Tibetan. (Biblioteca Himalayaca II.9) Second edition 1978. Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar:756). This shows that Lhomi only has a slightly different vowel in this classifier -mu.

Table 2.12 Pairs of animate nouns of which only one is marked for gender

| Masculine | Feminine | English meaning |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | dimu | female yak |
| 'jak |  | male yak |
| 'tshajik |  | grand-son |
|  | 'tshamu | grand-daughter |

I do not hyphenate the gender markers for these noun stems because I am not sure what the stem means.

If a numeral occurs in a NP then the gender distinction is neutralized, only masculine classifier is used, -pu. Next two examples illustrate this:

```
2.4 u-ki phantcempa di-ki phu-mu 'nii-pu di-la 'khit-ran
that-GEN messenger DEF-ERG son-F1 two-M1 DEF-DAT 2PL-self
dziii-pa
mat-t6hit.
become.afraid-NMLZ;Q NEG-do;vbzr[IMP]
'The messenger said to those two women:"Do not be afraid!" '
```


## 2.5 'khim di-na 'mø-paa-ki na引tsa引 di-ki 'amt

house DEF-IN ploughing-HUM2-GEN wife DEF-GEN ear two-M1 DEF-DAT
'sir gartsama rii rii taa-na jøp-pa
gold big each each hang-NFT1 EXIST-NMLZ;Q
'ajekp-e 'thon-a bet. (TE67)
‘ayekpa-ERG see-NMLZ;Q AUX
'In the house Ayekpa saw that the wife of the plougher was wearing a big golden earring in each of her two ears.'

Examples 2.4-5 confirm that the gender distinction marked with the classifiers -pu and -mu is not maintained when numerals are used.

Table 2.13 Gender classifiers -pa and -ma (asterisk * marks unacceptable words)

| Noun stem | M2 | F2 | Noun+M2 or Noun+F2 | English meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | -pa | -ma |  |  |
| *khenta- |  | -ma | khenta-ma/khento-ma | 'woman spirit medium' |
| golo | -wa |  | golo-wa | 'handsome man' |
| golo |  | -ma | golo-ma | 'beautiful woman' |
| *khu- | -wa |  | khu-wa | 'stupid man' |
| *khu- |  | -ma | khu-ma | 'foolish woman' |
| 'pha |  |  |  | 'father' |
| 'pha |  | -ma | 'pha-ma | 'parents, grandfather[HON]' |
| * 'tr6hun- |  | -ma | 'ṫ6huj-ma | 'wife' |
| *6ii- |  | -ma | sii-ma | 'wife' |
| pa | -pa |  | papa | 'father' |
| tson |  | -ma | tson-ma | 'woman who sells' |
| *tsym- |  | -ma | tsym-ma | 'lamaistic nun' |
| *t60m-t.t. |  | -ma | t60m-t.t.Y-ma | 'woman who spreads rumours' |
| *top-jok- | -pa |  | top-jok-pa | 'male cook' |
| 'phu- |  | -ma | 'phu-ma | 'woman who cooks for a party' |
| 'phu-jok- | -pa |  | 'phu-jok-pa | 'man who helps 'phuma' |

Table 2.13 shows that there is another pair of gender classifiers in addition to those listed in table 2.11. The human classifier HUM1 (-pa) which I have discussed in section 2.4.2, has an additional grammatical meaning of marking the noun as masculine. It combines only with a small class of nouns and the reference is to sex gender. For that homophoneous suffix I use the label M2. The primary meaning of -pa is the human classifier and plural marking. The morphophonemic variants of this classifier are -wa, -ja, -
a. The following list gives an idea of various multiple grammatical meanings of this suffix:
-Plural marker,PL2, for some nouns, pronouns, definite article and demonstratives -Human classifier,HUM1, for sub-class of nouns
-Masculine, M2, gender marker for sub-class of nouns
-Marks the ordinal numeral, ORD without any reference to gender
-Object nominalizer,NMLZ, for nonpast and past verb roots
-Question clitic
The latter classifier I have labeled F2 in this current chart very clearly classifies the nouns as human feminine. There are other animate and inanimate nouns which end with ma but either the gender marker has been grammaticalized or there has never been a gender classifier in the noun stem, e.g. t6unma, 'a species of black birds'. Often it is also part of a longer string of suffixes, e.g. dam-pokma 'tight, strong', see more on adjectives in chapter 7 . I do not treat -ma as a separate suffix in these adjectivizers like -pokma. The whole area of word classes in Lhomi is very complex and so is the gender marking.

Mr.Ngawang Thondup Narkyid claims the following: "In the Proto-Tibetan language, the suffixes /pa/ and /pol were the masculine gender markers, /ma/ and $/ \mathrm{mo} /$ were the feminine gender markers and $/ \mathrm{wa} /$ and $/ \mathrm{wo} /$ were the neuter gender markers for inanimate nouns and adjectives." (Narkyid, Ngawang Thondup. 1979. Gender markers in Tibetan morphology, In Michael Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi, eds, Tibetan studies in honour of Hugh Richardson:211).Then he goes on explaining that Modern Tibetan has only masculine and feminine genders which cover all kinds of sub-classes of nouns. There is no indication that Lhomi has any productive gender marking operators for any inanimate nouns, only some grammaticalized gender markers which may well have been originally productive gender markers. In tables 2.11 and 2.13 there are some pairs of inanimate nouns marked for gender. In my Lhomi studies I have come across with only very few of them. In this write-up I only use the tags -mu F1 and -ma F2, -pu M1 and -pa M2 when they truly mark sex gender. Otherwise I use other morphnames for them, e.g. HUM1, PL2 or ADJVZR, see section 7 on adjectives. Often I have not hyphenated the mystical suffix ma which has multiple grammatical meanings.

The following list gives an idea of the multiple grammatical meanings the suffix -ma can have in addition to marking the feminine gender: Nominalizing a verb, from verb to noun operation

## 2.6 sa-ma

eat-F2
'food'
2.7 roo-la 'myrak '6or-t6e-ma 'iej-kuk.

3SG-DAT sweating come.out-SBJV-F2 search-PROG;VIS
'He starts to sweat.'
Nominalizing a postposition:

## 2.8 mi 'oppu tsem-ma tsik <br> man health with-F2 INDF

‘a man with health, a strong man'
-ma also is often part of a longer derivational suffix which adjectivizes a noun or a verb, e.g. -pokma, -pøtma, -ntikma, -t6etma etc. I have kept all these just as one long suffix. Occasionally I have marked it as F2.

### 2.4.4.2 Gender classifiers 'pho and mo in compound nouns

There are two nouns ('pho and mo) which refer to male and female gender respectively. They are free morphemes but they do compound with a small number of nouns, mainly animal names. These classifiers are always the first members of the compound. Though they mostly compound with animate nouns, occasionally they do compound with inanimate nouns too, e.g. mo-le 'work typically done by women'. Morphophonemic changes occur like in any other noun compounding, e.g. the word initial aspiration of the latter word disappears. There is more about that in section on word compounding in chapter 10 . These words are listed as prefixes in some Tibetan dictionaries and grammar books, e.g. (Narkyid, Ngawang Thondup. 1979. Gender markers in Tibetan morphology, In Michael Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi, eds, Tibetan studies in honour of Hugh Richardson:214)

This derivational operator is not productive. In other words one cannot produce any new compounds. Perhaps these two words ('pho and mo) have been originally prefixes which have become grammaticalized and eventually free morphemes. The following examples illustrate the compounds on which the gender is marked by one of these two words in the initial syllable:

Table 2.14 Compound nouns formed with gender marking words, 'pho and mo

| Original words | Compound word | Meaning of the compound |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 'pho |  | 'male person or male animal' |
| 'pho + ta | 'pho-ta | 'male horse' |
| 'pho + 'єanaa | 'pho6-san | 'buffalo bull' |
| 'pho + ra | 'pho-ra (also ra-pu) | 'male goat, male sheep' |
| 'pho + 'Iha | 'pho-la | 'protector god of a clan' |
| 'pho + le | 'pho-le | 'work of men' |
| 'pho + lo | 'pho-lo | 'age of a man' |
| 'pho + rej-a | 'pho-rey-a | 'male widow' |
| 'pho + 'ธin | 'pho6-sin | 'male tree' |


| 'pho + sin | 'phos-sin | 'man's attraction to women' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| quk-ket 'pho | dukket 'pho | 'male thunder god'' |
| mo |  | 'female person or animal |
| mo + 'sajaa | mos-6an | 'buffalo cow' |
| mo + luk | mo-luk | 'female sheep' |
| mo + lo | mo-lo | 'age of a woman' |
| mo + le | mo-le | 'work of women' |
| mo + rej-mu | mo-rej-mu | 'female widow' |
| mo + '6in | mo6-sin | 'female tree' |
| mo + net | mo-net | 'gynecological sickness' |
| mo + sin | mos-sin | 'woman's attraction to men' |
| duk-ket mo | duk-ket $\mathbf{~ m o ~}$ | 'female thunder god' |

There are two observations I want to make at this stage. All the compounds except one, in the table 2.14 are $\mathrm{N}+\mathrm{N}$ compounds. The one that is not, is a complex noun $\mathrm{N}+\mathrm{V}$ ('phos-sin and mos-sin).

Secondly, it is always the first N in the compound that determines whether the resulting compound word is in tense register or in lax (there is more about this in chapter 10 on word formation). The last item on table 2.14 is not a compound but two separate words.

Though some Lhomi nouns are marked for gender in the way I have just described, in general Lhomi does not mark nouns or any other word class for gender unless there is correlation to natural sex distinction.

### 2.4.4.3 Kinship terms and other inherently gender oriented nouns

It is obvious that kinship terms are inherently either feminine or masculine. Normally the gender is not marked in these nouns but some are marked as we have seen in the section on gender. They form a closed class of nouns in Lhomi. And as such they are very important because it is the kinship term that binds a Lhomi person to the kinship network of the whole ethnic group. It defines his/her rights and responsibilities among those who are his/her kin in the Lhomi society.

Kinship terms without proper name of the addressee are used in face-to-face conversation as terms of address. As such they are marked in vocative case (there is more about this in 5.11 and in 11. In speech acts when the hearer is not present often the proper name of the person is added along with the appropriate kinship term. Proper name alone is never used when referred to a person. The following list has some inherently masculine kinship terms and other nouns that can only refer to male persons (the gloss gives only the primary reference of the term):
papa 'father'
'appa 'dad'
jap 'father[HON]
'pha 'father' (rarely used)

```
palaa 'father[HON]' (used only as an address term)
'phapu 'male persons of ego's sub-clan'
'phapu mapu 'total population of a clan'
pupu 'grandpa, progenitor of the whole tribe'
pupu 'mumu 'ego's ancestry'
'tshajik 'grand-son'
'aku 'paternal uncle'
'ac6a\eta 'maternal uncle'
atco 'elder brother or elder cousin'
toto 'elder brother or elder cousin'
'tshoko 'male person'
minpu 'younger brother or cousin'
'tshoo `elder sister's husband'
'lama 'lama'
mimi 'high ranking village lama'
'lopøn 'shaman'
```

Nouns which can only refer to women:
'ama 'mother'
ma 'mother' (rarely used)
api 'grandma'
'ani 'aunt'
'atti 'elder sister or cousin'
nantsan 'wife, low form'
siima 'wife'
tsimen 'wife[HON]
tsymma 'lamaistic nun'
'tehuyma 'wife'
khentama 'spirit medium woman'
'nama 'wife, daughter in law'
'tsha-mu 'grand-daughter'

Kinship terms that can either refer to masculine or feminine gender
'phama 'ego's parents'
'phamyn 'ego's kin of wife's side'
'pheprn 'ego's paternal cousin'
mamprn 'ego's maternal cousin'
pyn 'ego's cousin or brother/sister'
'phepet 'father and child'
memet 'mother and child'

### 2.5 Pronouns

### 2.5.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns in Lhomi function freely and may fill the same verbal arguments in a clause as nouns, namely subject, object and indirect object. Personal pronouns can be modified and function as heads of relative clauses and predicate complements.

They differ from nouns in that they are inherently either singular or plural. Lhomi does not have dual. Of all the case markers inessive, locative, allative and ablative cannot be affixed to personal pronouns. Along with kinship terms and titles personal pronouns may be used as terms of address. 2SG[HON]-self is normally used only as a term of address, hence the reflexive marker. The following table shows only the most common personal pronouns (next table has them all):

Table 2.15 Personal pronouns

| Morphname | Pronoun | Meaning and Comments |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1SG | na | 'l' |
| 2SG | ran | 'you, low form, also means 'self' |
| 2SG | 'khøt | 'you, familiar form' |
| 2SG[HON] | *nitcan | 'you[HON]' |
| 2SG[HON]-self | nitca-ran | 'you yourself[HON]' |
| 3SG | roo | 'he, familiar form' |
| 3SG[HON] | 'khon | 'he[HON]' |
| 1PL.EXCL | りit | 'we, exclusive' |
| 1PL.INCL | hat6ak | 'we, inclusive' (very rare) |
| 1PL.INCL-self | hatca-ran | 'we ourselves, inclusive' |
| 2PL | 'khit | 'you, familiar form' |
| 2SG[HON]-self-PL1 | nitca-ran-so | 'you yourself[HON]' |
|  | *'kho |  |
| 3PL-PL2 | 'kho-pa | 'they' |

A speaker uses 3PL-PL2 only for a person who belongs to the same group or entity as he himself. It is obvious that there is no vocative for this pronoun. I have hyphenated the plural marker -pa but the stem never occurs alone. There is more about the associative plural markers -tso and -so in section on plural markers of Lhomi nouns in chapter 2.6. Instead of personal pronouns 3SG and 3PL, demonstratives often are used for third person references, there is more about demonstratives in chapter 4.1.

## Table 2.16 Personal pronouns and reflexive pronouns with most common case markings

| Morpheme <br> name | Personal <br> pronouns | Reflexive <br> pronouns | Personal and reflexive <br> pronouns | Personal and <br> reflexive pronouns |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |


|  | ABS case | ABS case | ERG/GEN/INS case | DAT case |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1SG | ךа | na-ran | $\begin{aligned} & \text { ŋ-e } \\ & \text { ja-ran-ki } \end{aligned}$ | да-la <br> クа-ran-la |
| 2SG | ran | raj-ran | raj-ki | raj-la |
| 2SG | 'khøt | 'khøt-ran | 'khok-ki 'khøt-ran-ki | 'khøt-la 'khøt-ran-la |
| 2SG[HON] | *nitsay | nitca-ran | nitca-ran-ki | nitca-raj-la |
| 3SG | roo | roo-ran | $\begin{aligned} & \text { roo-ki } \\ & \text { roo-ray-ki } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { roo-la } \\ & \text { roo-raj-la } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| 3SG | gotta |  | gott-e | gotta-la |
| 3SG-group | 'khon-tso | 'khoj-tso-ran | 'khon-ts-ø | 'khon-tso-la |
| 3SG[HON] | 'khon | 'khon roo-ran | 'khoy-ki 'khoy roo-raŋ-ki | 'khob-la <br> 'khoy roo-raj-la |
| 1PL.EXCL | Пit | yit-ran | クik-ki | jit-la |
| 1PL.EXCL-PL1 | jis-so | jit-ray-so | $\begin{aligned} & \text { yis-s-ø } \\ & \text { jit-raŋ-s-ø } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { yis-so-la } \\ \text { nit-ray-so-la } \end{array}$ |
| 1PL.INCL | hatcak | hatca-ray | hatsa-raj-ki | hatsa-ran-la |
| 2PL | 'khit | 'khit-ran | 'khik-ki | 'khit-la |
| 2PL-PL1 | 'khis-so | 'khit-ran-so | 'khis-s-ø <br> 'khit-ran-s-ø | 'khis-so-la 'khit-ray-so-la |
| 2SG[HON]-PL1 |  | nitca-raj-so | nitca-raj-s-ø | nitca-rab-so-la |
| 3PL-PL1 | roo-so | roo-raj-so | roo-raj-s-ø | roo-raj-so-la |
| 3PL-group-PL1 | 'khon-tso-so |  | 'khoj-tso-s-ø | 'khon-tso-so-la |
| 3PL-PL2 | 'kho-pa |  | 'kho-p-e | 'kho-pa-la |
| 3PL-PL2-PL1 | 'kho-pa-so |  | 'kho-pa-s-ø | 'kho-pa-so-la |

In Lhomi the case markers for ergative, genitive and instrumental are identical. Here are some comments about the use of these personal pronouns. In chapter 11 on terms of address there are more.
1SG ya ' $l$ ' Speaker refers to himself.

2SG ran 'you, self'
This is a low form. It cannot be used among adults unless they really know each other very intimately. Parents may use this pronoun for children. The following example illustrates this pronoun:

| 2.9 | hi-ki pitca hi-ko | ran-ki bet. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| this-GEN book this-head | 2SG-GEN COP |  |
|  | 'This book is yours.' |  |

2SG 'khøt 'you'

This is the ordinary second person pronoun. In the honorific scale it ranks a bit higher than ray. It may be used among those who are familiar with each other and who are agewise and socially at the same level. Children also may use this among themselves. However they would not use it for their parents or for any other adult. The honorific vocative suffix -laa cannot combine with these two pronouns. The following examples illustrate this pronoun:

```
2.10 'khøt kha-la
    2SG where-DAT
    go-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
    'Where do you go?'
```

2.11 | 'khok-ki iki $\quad$ dok |
| :--- |
| 2SG-ERG writing read |
| 'Do you know how to read?' | know-PROG;VIS=Q

2SG[HON]-self nitsa-ran_ 'you'
This is clearly an honorific pronoun though it is not fully accepted as such by all Lhomis. The pronoun is widely used in only one village called Damtang but it is understood by most Lhomis and has become an honorific pronoun, $2 \mathrm{SG}[\mathrm{HON}]$. Any kin who ranks higher than the speaker or a government official or someone whom the speaker does not know may be addressed with this pronoun. The honorific vocative suffix -laa cannot combine with this pronoun. Absolutive is used very rarely which is obvious because -ran 'self' marks also vocative. The following example illustrates this pronoun:

### 2.12 nitga-ran-ki min-la khanta 'sun-køp=pa? <br> 2SG[HON]-self-GEN name-DAT what speak[HON]-PROG;EXP=Q <br> 'What is your name?' Or: 'What do you call your name?'

## 3SG roo 'he/she'

At least the hearer must know the person referred to. Speaker may or may not know the referent. This is what could be called a low form. Rarely it can also refer to an animal.

The next illustration comes from a fable which is about monkey and pheasant. rooran refers to the pheasant who will turn out later to be the hero of the story:

```
2.13 hassøt doole 'aku doole tho-pu di tha\eta
    VIP monkey uncle monkey b.friend-M1 DEF and
    roo-ran gø-na se-pa bet. (TE16)
    3SG-self divide-NFNT1 eat-NMLZ;Q AUX
    'Then he/it himself divided it up and ate it together with his/its bond friend uncle
monkey.
```


## 3SG gotta 'he/she'

This is a common pronoun which is used when speaker/writer, hearer/hearers/recipients and referent know each other and have some mutual interest or activity with each other. It may be a shared activity, friendship, common goal or kin
relation. They are somehow involved with each other. Occasionally gotta may refer to a domestic animal too. The following example illustrates this pronoun:
2.14 u-tu gott-e yii-pa trhi-p-e thik-la that-LOC 3SG-ERG commit.wrong-NMLZ;Q do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q-GEN about-DAT 'jonma kurik-ki khun-tu g-e gotta-la lapea taj-en.
other all-GEN among-LOC 1SG-ERG 3SG-DAT rebuke send;vbzr-1PST 'I rebuked him there in front of others for the wrong which he had committed.'

## 3SG[HON]-group 'khon-tso 'he who belongs to the same group'

This is another common third person singular pronoun. The word itself is actually a compound (PRON+N) 'khon + 'tshoo. The latter part of this compound is a noun which means 'a group of people, gathering, assembly of men'. Though the first part is an honorific pronoun the compound is not. This pronoun combines with PL1 -so and has case markers just like any other personal pronoun. Therefore I have chosen to call it a personal pronoun rather than a common noun.

Speaker/writer identifies himself with the same group as the referent. The group may be an ethnic entity or a religious group or a kinship group or a team of joint building project. The bond is stronger and the group more definite than with the pronoun gotta. The following example illustrates this pronoun:

```
2.15 'khon-tso jampu-la 'lit-ni
    3SG[HON]-group Kathmandu-DAT arrive-NFNT2
    roo-ki ga-ntikma ya tsara
    3SG-ERG be.pleased-ADJVZR 1SG where.about
    tcet-na 'je\eta-na 'lit-t6u\eta.
    cut-NFNT1 seek-NFNT1 arrive-PST.EXP
```

'After he had arrived in Kathmandu, he vigorously sought me up and came to me.' Speaker identifies himself with the referent who belongs to the same working team.

## 3SG[HON] 'khon 'he'

This is proper honorific third person pronoun. The referent ranks socially or in kinship network higher than the speaker. It is the speaker/writer who decides when to use this pronoun. No particular relationship is implied between the speaker and the referent. The reflexive for this pronoun is 'khon roo-ran and not *'khon-ran as would be expected.There is no plural counterpart for this pronoun.


## 1PL.EXCL yit 'we.excl'

Speaker excludes the hearers, he refers to his own family or to a group of friends or to any kind of undefined entity of people. The idea is that the hearer is not part of 'we'. The following example illustrates this:

### 2.17 yit 'thaymu 'tshi-jaa hin. <br> 1PL.EXCL 'thangmu 'tshi -HUM2 <br> COP.EXP <br> 'We are people of 'thapmu 'tshi village.'

## 1PL.EXCL-PL1 クis-so 'we'

Hearers are excluded again. However the speaker refers to a definite group of persons who are included and he is part of the group. The definite group may be his family, a group which works together or travels together. All may not be present at the time of the speech act but the speaker knows those who belong to the group. There is more about this marker under plural markers in chapter 2.6.

```
2.18 yis-so jampu-la 'phim-pen.
    1PL.EXCL-PL1 Kathmandu-DAT go.come[PST]-1PST
    'We went to Kathmandu and came back.'
```

1PL.INCL-self hatca-ran 'we'

This pronoun without -ran is rarely used which is obvious because -ran marks the vocative also. Speaker/writer includes the hearer/recipient when he talks about 'we' or 'us'. The honorific vocative -laa is not used with hatca-ray. This pronoun has different agreement patterns with the verbs than the 1PL.EXCL jit has. There is more about that in section on evidentiality in chapter 13. Next example is from a speech addressed to a gathering of villagers.

```
2.19 hat6a-ran mi khajet-la u-ko '6øt-t6e
    1PL-self man plural-DAT that-head speak-SBJV
    mip-pa bet. (TE48)
    NEG.EXIST-NMLZ;Q AUX
```

    'We men do not know it.' Or:'We men have not known it.'
    
## 2PL 'khit 'you.pl'

This is common plural second person pronoun which may be used as a term of address with or without -ran 'self'. The honorific vocative marker -laa does not combine. In 2.20 father asks his sons after they have come back home.
2.20 'khit kha-la $\quad$ 'phim=pa?

3SG-PL1 roo-so 'they'
This is the plural counterpart of roo. This plural third person reference occurs in stories where participants act as a group of men or the main character has assistants with him or a whole family is referred to. The next example comes from a text that has only two characters and this refers to them at the beginning of the story. This is the third sentence and it is part of the setting for the rest of the story.

```
2.21 roo-so thoy-pa 'yii=ra\eta tshuy-tuk. (TE17)
    3SG-PL1 house-HUM1 two=FOC become-PRF.VIS
```

'They became two separate families.'

3PL 'kho-pa, 'kho-pa-so 'they'

The latter with the associative plural marker -so refers to a larger group. Both speaker and hearer have some kind of relationship to the group. They both know the referents or belong to the same entity or village or tribe. Next illustration comes from a text in which the speaker is addressing the whole village. The pronoun reference is to certain lawless characters in the village.

### 2.22 'kho-pa khajet polis-ki 'thok-la 'thøn 'mit-tshuu-ken. (TE33)

3PL-PL2 plural police-GEN above-DAT appear NEG-be.able-NMLZ;CONJ 'They are not able to get above the police.'

### 2.5.2 Reflexive pronouns

In the table 2.15-16 I have already listed reflexive pronouns. ran 2 SG is used as a free personal pronoun but it is a very low form in terms of honorific scale and hardly ever used. The meaning of this pronoun is 'you, self'.

The reflexive pronoun is a compound of personal pronoun and the noun ran 'self'. It only marks a reflexive pronoun if it is directly attached to the root of the pronoun e.g. 'khit-raj-so 'you yourse/ves'. This noun compounds also with other nouns and verbs like in ran-mø 'freedom, lit. 'self desire', ran-si 'self learned, 'self knowledge', see also the illustration 10.11.

Another way to analyze this would be to argue that the contrastive focus clitic =ran which typically marks larger syntactic units than words, marks also reflexive pronouns.l prefer the previous analysis.

The noun ray marks also a kind of vocative with common terms of address. Lhomi does have a proper vocative case marker also, but that combines with honorific address terms only, see more on vocative case in chapter 5.11. The following examples illustrate the reflexive pronouns:

```
2.23 \etaa-ra\eta dep-pen. (TE3)
    1SG-self stay-1PST
    'I myself stayed.'
```

2.24 hi-ko nit-ran-ki naj-ki 'Iha bet.
this-head 1PL.EXCL-self-GEN inside-GEN god COP
'This is our own god.' Or: 'This is a god of our own.'

| 2.25 | ha hi-ni | trehi-pa di | 'khit-ran-tan | „а |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | now this-ABL | do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q DEF | 2PL-self-COM | 1SG |
|  | 'mit-thek-ken | bet. (TE28) |  |  |
|  | NEG-meet-NML | Z;CONJ AUX |  |  |
| each | 'From now onwa other.' | ds I will not meet with | you.' Or:'From | on y |

In this story the speaker meets his family members last time before he goes to jail.
Table 2.17 Structure of a noun stem with all its affixes
(only the stem is obligatory and it may have up to 3 suffixes at a time)

| Order of suffixes in a noun stem |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| N stem | 1.Position | 2. Position | 3. Position | 4. Position | 5. Position |
|  |  |  | PL1 | ERG | FOC |
| stem | M1 | VOC[HON] | PL2 | GEN |  |
|  | M2 |  |  |  |  |
|  | F1 |  |  | INS |  |
|  | F2 |  |  | COM |  |
|  | HUM1 |  |  | DAT |  |
|  | HUM2 |  |  | LOC |  |
|  |  |  |  | IN |  |
|  |  |  |  | ABL |  |
|  |  |  |  | ALL |  |

The table 2.17 gives only the positions of the noun suffixes in relation to each other, not the combinations. The following example which is from a short story telling about the famous character Ayekpa, gives a sample of complex combination of inflectional markers on a pronoun:
2.26 ajekp-e lel-la nitøa-ran-ki=ran 'вip 'ьip

Ayekpa-ERG reply-DAT $2 \mathrm{SG}[\mathrm{HON}]$-self-ERG=FOC thoroughly thoroughly
tshi-la 'khur-let sit-tcun nani tohi-pa bet. (TE66)
do;vbzr-DAT bring-SCI say-PST.EXP CONFIRM do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Ayekpa replied:"You yourself told me:"Bring absolutely every piece of it back!", didn't you?'
2.5.3 Interrogative pronouns Animate
Lhomi has very few animate interrogative pronouns but quite a few inanimate ones. I have followed the same kind of format as Newar has done (Hale, Austin and Kedar P. Shrestha. 2006, Newār (Nepāl Bhāsā). [Languages of the World/Materials 256], München: Lincom Europa:42). Just like Newar Lhomi also has group inflection. This can be seen in the table 2.19 in 'who all?' Here is a list of animate interrogative pronouns in Lhomi:

Table 2.18 Singular animate interrogative pronouns
Singular who? which one?

| ABS | 'su | khaŋ-ko |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| GEN | 's-Y | khaŋ-ko di-ki |
| ERG | 's-Y | khaŋ-ko di-ki |


| INS | 's-y lam-ni | khaŋ-ko di-ki lamni |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| DAT | 'su-la | khaŋ-ko-la, khaŋ-ko di-la |
| COM | 'su-tan | khaŋ-ko-tan |

Table 2.19 Plural animate interrogative pronouns
Plural who all?

| ABS | 'su 'su, 'su 'su khajet |
| :--- | :--- |
| GEN | 'su 'sy, 'su 'su khajek-ki |
| ERG | 'su 'sy, 'su 'su khajek-ki |
| INS | 'su 'su khajek-ki lam-ni |
| DAT | 'su 'su-la, 'su 'su khajet-la |
| COM | 'su 'su-tan |

The first pronoun 'su on table 2.18 is a free morpheme which combines with case markers like GEN, ERG, DAT and COM. It also occurs as a complement of some postpositions. It does combine with other case markers too but only when it is a complement of a postposition which then gets the case marking. The reference is only to humans.

Reduplication of this question word pluralizes it. If the number referred to is large then the plural marker quantifier khajet has to be added.
khan-ko can be both animate or inanimate pronoun. It may refer to humans, animals, gods or things. I have not come across any plural form of this pronoun. I have analyzed the latter part of this compound as the noun go 'head' which also compounds with the bound demonstratives hi- and $\mathbf{u}$-. Next examples illustrate these animate interrogative pronouns:

```
2.27 'khit ma di dzaapu-la da trhik-ken di '\underline{su} '\underline{ su}
    2PL CONTR1 DEF Jyaabu-DAT enmity do;vbzr-NMLZ;CONJ DEF who who
    him=pa?(TE58)
    COP.EXP=Q
    'In fact who of you are the ones who oppose Jyaabu?'
```

The next one is a rhetorical question which functions as a reprimand.

```
2.28 ni u-ko 'khik-ki 'mat-sø-na 'jon 'su di-ki 'so-ken? (TE47)
    that-head 2PL-ERG NEG-feed-NFNT1 other who DEF-ERG feed-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
    'If you do not feed her, who else will do it?'
```

$\mathbf{2 . 2 9}$ hatca-ran-ki 'pho-la di khan-ko bek=ka? (TE48)
1PL.INCL-self-GEN male-deity DEF anything-head COP=Q
'Which one is our protecting deity?'

```
2.30 hatca-ra\eta-ki luppa-la 'tshøtnø kha\eta-ko
    1PL.INCL-self-GEN area-DAT rel.practitioner anything-head
    dzim-60 jøp-pa bek=ka? (TE49)
    skill-SUP EXIST-NMLZ;Q AUX=Q
    'Which religious practioner in our area has been the most skilled?'
```


## Inanimate

The following list has most inanimate interrogative pronouns. The root of the first one in the list is khan. This is a free pronoun but it may also compound with go 'head' and we get khan-ko which I have already listed among animate pronouns above. khan combines with definite article but receives no case markings. khan and khay-ko have very similar distributions and semantically they are synonymous. The latter may be marked for dative case.

The root of those in the middle of the list is kha- which is a bound morpheme.
The root of the last three ones is khanta. I regard this morphologically as one root. If -ta has ever been a suffix, it certainly has been fully grammaticalized. The examples follow the list of pronouns below:

| khan | 'which' | mostly with copular verbs |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| kha-la | 'where to' | mostly with motion verbs |
| kha-na $\quad$ 'where in' | only with existential verb |  |
| kha-nala 'where about' | mostly with motion verbs |  |
| kha-ni $\quad$ 'where from' | states the source |  |
| kha-tu $\quad$ 'where in' | mostly with non-motion verbs |  |
| kha-tsøt 'what amount' |  |  |
| khanta 'what' | inanimate only, |  |
| khanta khanta 'what all' |  |  |
| khanta-la $\quad$ 'why, for what reason' | plural inanimate only |  |

### 2.31 'khøt kha-la do-ken? <br> 2SG where-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ.Q <br> 'Where do you go?'

$\begin{array}{llllll}\mathbf{2 . 3 2} & \text { dimik-ki } & \text { t6ii } & \text { di } & \text { kha-tu } & \begin{array}{l}\boldsymbol{\epsilon} \mathbf{c k}=\boldsymbol{p a} ? \\ \text { lock-GEN }\end{array} \\ & \text { key } & \text { DEF } & \text { what-LOC } & \text { put.leave-NMLZ;Q }\end{array}$
'Where did you put the key of the lock?'
The key is lost and speaker asks this from someone who is responsible for it.

| 2.33 | 'khok-ki | 'khim | di | kha-na | jøp=pa? |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 2SG-GEN | house | DEF what-IN | EXIST.EXP=Q |  |

'Where is your house/home?'
2.34 kha-nala pur-tee bek=ka? (TE45)
where-ALL throw-SBJV COP=Q
'To where should I throw it?'


| $\mathbf{2 . 3 6}$ | u-tu mi | kha-tsøt | tsik | duk=ka? |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| that-LOC man | what-amount INDF | EXIST.VIS=Q |  |  |
| 'How many men are/were over there?' |  |  |  |  |


| $\mathbf{2 . 3 7}$ | $\mathbf{m i m i}$ | tshintum-ki sinkan | di | $\underline{k h a n}$ | $\underline{\text { di }}$ | bek=ka? (TE42) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | resp.lama | 'tshintum-GEN lama's.house $D E F$ | which | DEF | COP=Q |  |

'Which one is the house (lama's residence) of the respected lama tshintum?' Speaker addresses the lama himself using 3.person reference.

### 2.38 na-j-e jay-la khan di-ki 'tshop-kuk=ka? (TE48) <br> be.sick-NMLZ;Q-GEN time-DAT which DEF-ERG <br> protect-PROG;VIS=Q

'At the time of being sick which one protects us?'
Speaker has listed some gods which the villagers worship and asks now which one of them is protecting when a person gets sick.

| 2.39 juukan-tu | khanta khanta tohur-a | bek=ka? |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| village-LOC what what happen-NMLZ;Q | AUX $=\mathrm{Q}$ |  |

### 2.40 khanta khanta-la 'khok-ki 'tchopu-la ga-a <br> what what-DAT 2SG-GEN husband-DAT be.happy-COMP2 <br> tshik-ken bek=ka? (TE45) <br> do;vbzr-NMLZ;CONJ AUX=Q

'Why do they always treat your husband so well?'
In this example the reduplication of the pronoun refers to several occasions of good treatment. The case marker only occurs in the latter pronoun, group inflection.

### 2.5.4 Indefinite pronouns

Pronouns like ‘someone’, ‘one’, ‘anybody’, ‘each', ‘every’, ‘anything', ‘everything’ etc. in Lhomi form a small class of indefinite pronouns. First four in the list below have human referents but the rest have inanimate referents. There is more about question words under interrogative clause in chapter 14.4.

The basic grammatical difference between khay and than is that the previous occurs in complement clauses, see example 2.50. The latter one is the grammatical head of a NP, see the example 2.51 .

| 'su-la 'ak | 'to anyone, to no one' | singular human reference |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 'su 'su-la 'ak | 'to any, to none' | plural human reference |
| 'su 'uk | 'anyone, no one' | singular human reference |
| 'su hin-na ak | 'whoever he is, anybody' | singular human reference |


| khanta ak | 'whatever, nothing' |
| :---: | :---: |
| khanta khanta ak | 'whatever, nothing whatsoever' |
| khanta hin-na ak | 'whatever the case is, in any case' |
| kha-la ak | 'to wherever, to anywhere' |
| kha-na ak | 'wherever in, anywhere in' |
| kha-ni ik | 'from wherever, from anywhere' |
| kha-tu uk | 'wherever, anywhere' |
| khaj-ko ok | 'whichever' |
| khay-ko-la ak | 'to whichever, to any kind' |
| khan | 'whatever, everything, any' |
| khay jøppa khajet | 'everything, all things that are there' |
| than | 'anything, everything, any' |
| the | 'every, whatever' |
| jari, jari-pa | 'some, few' |
| tsik | 'someone, one' |
| 'sosso | 'each, every' |
| mi 'jon | 'another man' |
| mi 'jon-ma | 'another man' |
| mi sen | 'other man' |
| kyn | 'every' |

### 2.41 'khit-ran 'su 'su-la 'ak kar ton

2PL-self who who-DAT INCLN obligation send;vbzr
'mit-tshuu-ken bet. (TE58)
NEG-be.able-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'They can put the obligation upon none (plural) of you.'

| 2.42 | hi-ni $\quad$ mi | 'jonma | 'su | hin-na | ak |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| this-ABL man other | who | COP-NFNT1 | INCLN |  |  |
| trik | thik=tu $\quad$ do-ken | bet. (TE49) |  |  |  |
| one fetch=PURP | go-NMLZ;Q | AUX |  |  |  |
| 'Then they go to fetch another one (healer), whoever he is. |  |  |  |  |  |

Speaker is telling about village healers. The previous one has failed to heal the sick.
2.43 u-ko roj-la ak 'phin-na 'ak
that-head lowland-DAT INCLN go.come[PST]-NFNT1 INCLN
khanta ak mit-tshik-ken bet. (TE32)
what INCLN NEG-do;vbzr-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Even if it goes to lowland area, it does nothing to it.'
Speaker is telling about dzo which is a crossbreed of yak and cow. Yak is not able to go to lowland but dzo is. Note that the demonstrative uko can refer to animals, humans and inanimate referents.

2.45 mi 'su 'uk nam nam-la ak mat-dze-pa bet. man who INCLN when when-DAT INCLN NEG-climb-NMLZ;Q AUX 'No man has ever ever climbed (this mountain).'
The word mountain occurs a bit earlier in the text.
2.46 hatca-ray-la kha-la $\underline{\text { ak kho } \text { 'tchøk-ken di }}$

1PL-self-DAT where-DAT INCLN usefulness be.cut-NMLZ;CONJ DEF dzo bet. (TE32)
dzo COP
'The one which is useful for us everywhere, is dzo.'
Speaker is comparing 'jak, dzo and bovine cow and comes to this conclusion. It is good in ploughing, it can go higher up etc. The reference is to location, high and low country.

| 2.47 | 'khit-ran-ki | min-pu | di | kha-ni | ik |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 2PL-self-GEN | y.brother-M1 | DEF | where-ABL | INCLN |
|  | 'thik-na | jun | go-ken | bet. |  |

fetch-NFNT1 come have.to-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'You have to come bringing your younger brother from wherever he is.'

'Wherever men get together, they only discuss about this topic.'
Speaker is telling about an incident which took place in a village.

### 2.49 'khit-ran khajet le khanko-la ak thø-ko

2PL-self plural work which-DAT INCLN plan-head
dik-pokma tohit go-ken bet. (TE46)
agree-ADJVZR do;vbzr have.to-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'As for every kind of work, you have to agree to a common plan.'

2.51 hi-ko das-si 'akpa-a-ki than gatcen dyk-ki
this-head be.alike-INTNS evil-COMP2-GEN everything a.lot evil.one-ERG
hatca-ray-la tshik-ken bet. (TE56)
1PL.INCL-self-DAT do;vbzr-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Just like this, a lot of everything evil, the evil one does to us.'
Speaker has just given a list of evil deeds like killing, stealing etc.
Indefinite pronouns jari and jari-pa, "some, few" have only animate referents. The latter refers to humans but if it is clear that the reference is to humans, the human classifier -pa HUM1 is optional. This pronoun can take any verbal argument in a clause and therefore it may take a number of inflectional suffixes. It is for this reason that I classify jariljari-pa an indefinite pronoun rather than a quantifier. If there is a head noun this pronoun follows it just like any quantifier does but it may occur as a free pronoun too. Reduplication marks the emphasis for this pronoun.

The following examples illustrate this indefinite pronoun:
2.52 jari daku tsara 'mit-t6øk-ken nuk=ran '6uŋtcon
some friend where.about NEG-cut-NMLZ;CONJ this.way=FOC non-stop
dzuu do-ken bet. (TE39)
run[PST] go-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Some do not look for other sheep but run ahead non-stop.'
Speaker is telling how some sheep behave in pasture. They are very obstinate and independent.

exploiting do;vbzr-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Even nowadays some men do exploit weaker and simple men.'
Speaker compares the new administration with the old ways when the stronger villagers ruled ruthlessly over the weaker ones.

### 2.54 jari-pa jari-pa 'tshen khan sa-ken bet. (TE30) <br> some-HUM1 some-HUM1 night one eat-NMLZ;CONJ AUX

'Some eat the whole night.'
Here the reference is to sheep which is the theme of the whole text. When the reference is to domestic animals the human marker may be occasionally used with this pronoun.

The numeral 'one' tsik may be used also as an indefinite pronoun 'a man, a thing'. The pronoun 'sosso 'each' has both animate and inanimate referents. It may also occur as a free pronoun. Pronoun kyn does not occur as a free pronoun but it modifies both animate and inanimate noun heads.

```
2.55 mi trik 'lit-t6u\eta.
    man one arrive-PST.EXP
    'Someone came.' Or: 'A man came.'
```



### 2.5.5 Reciprocal pronouns

Reciprocal pronoun requires that the subject is in plural. There is more about reciprocal complementizer in chapter 17.3.2. All of these pronouns may occur as free pronouns though the context usually gives hints as to what the preceding noun head is. Lhomi has the following reciprocal pronouns:
rii rii 'one each' inanimate/animate
rii-taŋ rii 'each other' inanimate/animate
tsik-tay tsik 'one another' animate
2.57 baalik rii rii hatca-ran hamu-waa khajet
bamboo.mat each each 1PL.INCL-self Hamu-HUM2 plural
'khur-let. (TE6)
go.bring-SCI
'Men of us Hamuwa clan, go and bring here one bamboo mat each!'
There are several men who receive this command. Speaker belongs to the same clan but he addresses the others who will bring the mats.


### 2.5.6 Correlative pronouns

David Watters talks about correlative pronouns and correlative structures. (see Watters David E. 2002. A Grammar of Kham. Cambridge University Press:166). Lhomi seems to have that too. Lhomi is an AOV language just like Kham though different in many ways. Correlative pronouns come in pairs in Lhomi and the first clause is paratactic to the second.
khanta.... uko
what... that
'SY
uko
who.........he/that

## kha-tsøt tsik ...

## u-tsøt tcik

what amount .. that amount

The following example illustrates the pair khanta ...uko:

2.60 | juukan-tu khanta |
| :--- |
| village-LOC what |$\frac{\text { khanta }}{\text { what }}$ tohun-a

happen-NMLZ;Q $\quad$| bek=ka |
| :--- |
| u-ko |
| thii-na |
| ton-køt. (TE82) |

The following example illustrates the pair kha-tsøt tsik... u-tsøt tsik:
2.61 thoj-pa kha-tsøt teik duk=ka
house-HUM1 what-amount INDF EXIST.VIS=Q
$\underline{\text { u-tsøt }} \frac{\text { tsik-la }}{}$ kurik-la paalo paalo
that-amount INDF-DAT all-DAT turn turn
tohi-na dok-sa 'tshaa 'nø-tu tsyk-ken bet.(TE36)
do;vbzr-NFNT1 shed-ground manure give.manure=PURP cause-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Whatever number of houses there are, to that number of houses one by one they make the sheep to stay and fertilize the fields.'

Speaker is telling how the village leaders organize the flock of sheep to stay in all the fields of the village.

There are other constructions like those above but I treat them under correlative clauses in chapter 16.1.7.

### 2.6 Number in nouns and noun phrases

As for marking the number in nouns and NPs Lhomi only has a two way system, singular and plural. Lhomi has no dual. Singular is unmarked and plural is marked either in noun stems or in phrase level with quantifiers that follow the lexical head noun. Of course there are some nouns which are inherently plural, e.g. personal pronouns 'we, you, they' and some kinship terms.

### 2.6.1 Marking plural in noun stems, PL1

In the section on personal pronouns I have already mentioned the plural marker PL1 -so which combines with personal pronouns. In the Newar Grammar (Hale, Austin and Kedar P. Shrestha. 2006, Newār (Nepāl Bhāsā). [Languages of the World/Materials 256], München: Lincom Europa:97) the writers talk about plurality of associated persons. This is very close to what Lhomi also has. I have called this marker PL1 because there is also another plural marker which I have labeled PL2. PL1 refers to a group of men or associates of someone or family members of a person or group of animals.

PL1 combines with personal pronouns, kinship terms, titles of men, kinship terms, proper names of men, certain quantifiers and those count nouns that refer to humans or animals. The following examples illustrate the use of this plural marker. Plural markers are underlined:

With proper names of people:

### 2.62 'mikmar 'Ihamu-so tap-son.

Mikmar Lhamu-PL1 go-PST.VIS
'Mikmar Lhamu with her friends or with her family left.'

With personal pronouns:

| 2.63 | roo-so | kurik-ki |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3SG-PL1 all-ERG | das-si | das-si-la |
| be.alike-INTNS | be.alike-INTNS-DAT |  |
| 'nam | tan-a | bet. (TE33) |
| make.equal[PST] IMMED-NMLZ;Q AUX |  |  |
|  | 'They all made the villagers to be equal.' |  |

'They all' refers to the new leaders of the village who restored the law and order in the village and made all the villagers equal.
$2.64 \begin{array}{llll}\text { roo-ran-so } & \text { 'nampu jari } & \text { jari jan } \\ \text { 1SG-self-PL1 } & \text { among some } & \text { some CONTR2 }\end{array}$
dzop dzop-la nuk tohi-na do-ken bet. (TE30)
group group-DAT this.way do;vbzr-NFNT1 go-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Actually some by themselves move along walking in a well formed group. 'Or:'... on their own...'

This is from a story that tells about sheep. Speaker refers to behaviour of sheep here.
2.65 hi-na jis-so mitsan kurik 'thay-puwa dzaa-puwa jøt. (TE74) this-IN 1PL.EXCL-PL1 family all health-ADJVZR strength-ADJVZR EXIST.EXP 'We, the whole family here are healthy and strong.'
Letter writer specifies the reference by adding the noun 'family'. Otherwise his pronoun reference would be ambiguous, family or friends or a group.

With animate count nouns:
2.66 hi-ni piip-y tho-pu-so 'lit-t6un. (TE3)
this-ABL Piipu-GEN b.friend-M1-PL1 arrive-PST.EXP
'Then came my bond friend of Piipu village with his associates.'
This is from a travel narrative. A Lhomi person may have only one or two bond friends. Reference here is either to the family of the friend or his travel companions. The total number may be two or more, up to a few with this plural marker.

With kinship terms:

```
2.67 'pha-pu-so wassi kuttsi '\etaa-tsøt ju\eta-ro tshi.(TE4)
    father-M1-PL1 please please five-amount come-AID do;vbzr[IMP]
    'Hello all men of my sub-clan, I plead, please do come, about five of you!'
    Speaker is shouting to the whole village and asking the male members of his sub-
clan to come and help him to build a house. The number of addressees is more than five,
but probably not more than }10\mathrm{ in this case.
```

With quantifiers:

### 2.68 'pha-ma pyn khajes-so... <br> father-F2 brother.cousin plural-PL1 <br> 'All my relatives...'

The quantifier khajet is the most common plural marker which combines with any count noun. This is the way someone would start a speech to an audience that consists of his aunts, uncles, cousins, brothers etc. To add the plural marker -so to quantifier khajet
makes the whole NP a term of address and a sign that a speech will follow. This may be the only quantifier which combines with this associate person plural marker -so.

### 2.6.2 Marking plural in noun stems, NPs and demonstratives

Lhomi has a lot of homophones even among various suffixes. This makes it sometimes difficult to keep track of what is what. The distribution helps to distiguish them. The plural suffix -pa which I now write about combines with only demonstratives (DEM), definite article (DEF) and 3.person plural pronoun 'kho-pa. Unlike personal pronouns these plural demonstratives may also refer to inanimate things. There is more about demonstratives and articles in chapters 4.1 and 4.2.

There are only two demonstratives, proximate and distal (hi- and $\mathbf{u}$-) that may have this plural marker attached to them. These two demonstratives are bound morphemes and the respective singular forms are hi-ko and u-ko which are free pronouns.

As for the articles only the definite article di combines with this plural marker -pa. The definite article is a free morpheme which is also used in singular. If a quantifier is followed by the definite article then the plural marker -pa cannot combine with the article. This is natural because it is the quantifier that marks the NP as plural and there is no need to add another plural marker. The following examples illustrate these plural markers:

```
2.69 ni hi-pa '\etaii-pu das-si das-si dik-ken bet. (TE52)
    this-PL2 two-M1 be.alike-INTNS be.alike-INTNS agree-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
    'These two (principles) are of equal weight.' Or: '...equal value.'
Speaker talks about certain principles that determine obligations and rights in Lhomi society and makes this final statement.
```

```
2.70 hi-pa 'yii-pu yik-ki tohi-p-e 'kha-la
    this-PL2 two-M1 1PL.EXCL-ERG do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q-GEN mouth-DAT
    'tsha cak-na ak mat-cak-na ak dik-na
    pair put-NFNT1 INCLN NEG-put-NFNT1 INCLN reconcile-NFNT1
    tir 'tshuu-na dik-na tik-ken. (TE55)
    give be.able-NFNT1 reconcile-NFNT1 give-NMLZ;CONJ
    'Whether these two (men) believe in what we say or not, if we possibly can reconcile
    them, we will.'
    The reference is to two men who need to be reconciled and this is a statement of
the arbitrators.
```

With distal demonstrative:

2.71 \begin{tabular}{l}
u-pa $\quad$ 'pikkar <br>
that-PL2 both

 

thaako-la 'tshar-a <br>
ravine-DAT fall.down-NMLZ;Q AUX
\end{tabular}

'Those both fell down to a ravine.'

This refers either to two men or to two animals.
2.72 u-pa 'pii-ki luppa sin-ken bet. (TE36)
that-PL2 two-ERG area catch-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Those two take the whole area under control.'
This is from the story that tells about lamas who chase away hail storms from the village area. The reference is to two officiating lamas.

### 2.73 'khik-ki u-pa ka t6øt 'mit-tshuu-pek=ka? (TE54) <br> 2PL-ERG that-PL2 order cut NEG-be.able-INCH=Q <br> 'Aren't you all able to stop them?' <br> This is a rhetorical question and as such a rebuke.

With the definite article di:

### 2.74 piscin di-pa ty. (TE4)

reed DEF-PL2 wash[IMP]
'Wash the reeds!'
This is a command to wash the reeds which are used to suck beer. The referent is inanimate and it refers to all reeds at hand. Speaker is the host of the party and the owner of the house where the party is. That is the reason why he uses the animate plural marker -pa. Props may be marked with animate plural marker.

```
2.75 topere di-ki 'khim-ki nay di-ni pulis di-pa 'thon-ni
    Topere DEF-ERG house-GEN inside DEF-ABL police DEF-PL2 see-NFNT2
    taala-la dze-ni 'nim-e 'tshik-la gon-na dep-pa bet. (TE28)
    storey-DAT climb-NFNT2 grain-GEN among-DAT hide-NFNT1 stay-NMLZ;Q AUX
    'As soon as Topere from inside the house saw the policemen, he climbed to the
upper floor and stayed there hiding himself among the ears of grain.'
In this story the policemen are coming to arrest the man called Topere. The policemen are already on the scene, therefore the definite article with the plural marker.
```


### 2.6.3 Quantifiers marking plural of count nouns

This is yet another way Lhomi expresses plurarity in count nouns, demonstratives and personal pronouns. Quantifiers are part of the NP and the lexical head may be any count noun, animate or inanimate. If these quantifiers are grammatical heads of a NP, they take the case marking which is grammatically appropriate for the NP.

If there is no semantic head noun, the quantifier may have an adverbial function. There is more about adverbs in chapter 8 . Generally the quantifier khajet implies a larger number than if -pa is used to mark plurality. Here is a list of some quantifiers which mark plurality on count nouns, demonstratives and personal pronouns:
khajet 'plural generic'
kurik 'all inclusive'
'tshet-mit 'not countable'
than-mit 'innumerable number'
gak 'many'

| døntøt | 'many, a lot' |
| :--- | :--- |
| gatcen | 'a lot, plenty of' |
| 'thamtset | 'absolutely all' |
| thopaa | 'few, not many, fair amount' |
| rap | 'relevant ones' |
| 'nampu | 'all of its kind' |

The following examples illustrate the quantifiers as modifying noun heads. (the whole NP is underlined):

Plural marker khajet:


This is from a story that tells about the big earthquake in 1930s. 'People' does not refer to any particular group but to men in general.
2.77 hi-ki thik-la 'khit=ran khajet gem-paa-ki 'kha-la nen-na this-GEN about-DAT 2PL-self plural duty-HUM2-GEN mouth-DAT listen-NFNT1 'noksam gantikma ton. (TE46) reasoning truly send;vbzr[IMP]
'You all, obey the leader and think thoroughly about this matter in your minds!' A village leader is addressing the whole village.

| 2.78 | keri $\quad$ mit-na | do 'mit-tshuu-ken | bet |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| leader.sheep NEG.EXIST-NFNT1 | go NEG-be.able-NMLZ;CONJ | AUX |  |
| $\underline{\text { u-pa }} \quad \underline{\text { khajet. (TE30) }}$ |  |  |  |
| that-PL2 | plural |  |  |
| 'If there is no leader sheep, they are not able to go anywhere. |  |  |  |
| Here the reference is to sheep without a leader sheep. |  |  |  |

2.79 la khajet-la 'ryt 'tshet-mit dzap-a bet. (TE8)
mountain.pass plural-DAT landslide measure-NEG vbzr-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Uncountable number of landslides took place in the mountains.
This is from the story that tells about the big earthquake in 1930s.

Quantifier kurik:
2.80 'mak-mi kurik lok-na 'khur-a bet (TE17)
war-man all return-NFNT1 carry-NMLZ;Q AUX
'All soldiers returned home.
This is not just a plural marker but refers to total number of soldiers who were there.
Two conjoined quantifiers khajet kurik marking all inclusive plurality:

### 2.81 'lama dzaapu mip-p-e

jay-la gympu
lama Jyaapu NEG.EXIST-NMLZ;Q-GEN time-DAT winter
gompa juu-kan-na mi khayet kurik grnnaa-la 'soj-a bet. (TE31)
Gomba village-house-IN man plural all winter.trip-DAT go-NMLZ;Q AUX
'In winter when Lama Jyaabu was not in Gomba village, absolutely all men traveled down to lower areas.'

This is from a story that tells how a golden idol was stolen in the village of Gomba. Lhomis excape the cold winter and walk down to south to enjoy warmer weather. To use these two quantifiers speaker wants to signal that really all villagers of Gomba village had gone. It is not necessarily a large number but the focus is that all of them had gone, not in the absolute sense however.

Quantifier 'tshet-mit with mass nouns:

| 2.82 ni hassøt u-ki | piipu-waa khayet di-ki | $\mathbf{u}-\mathbf{k i} \quad$ 'khim di-tu |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| VIP that-GEN | Piipu-HUM2 plural DEF-ERG | that-GEN house DEF-LOC |

'tohan than 'arak than' '6a 'tshet-mit se-pa bet. (TE34)
beer and liquor and meat measure-NEG eat-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Then people of Piipu village drank and ate huge amount of beer and liquor and meat.'

Two conjoined quantifiers 'tshetmit thaymit modifying count nouns:
2.83 u-na mi 'tshet-mit
than-mit
duk.
that-IN man measure-NEG
count-NEG
EXIST.VIS
'There is/was innumerable, uncountable number of people over there.'
This is another idiomatic quantifier that refers to huge number of referents.
Quantifier gak with count nouns:

| 2.84 | ni 'tshemmu luk-la | nuk tohi-pa | 'simtsen | gak |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | night sheep-DAT | this.way do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q | wild.animal | many |
|  | jur-ken bet. | (TE39) |  |  |
|  | come-NMLZ;CONJ AUX |  |  |  |
|  | 'At night a lot of wild animals come to sheep.' |  |  |  |
|  | This is from a story which to predators which come to | lls about sheep and how catch the sheep at night. | herd them | imal |

Quantifier gatcen with count nouns:

### 2.85 dawa gatcen na-tcuy. <br> month many become.sick-PST.EXP

'I got sick for many months.'
This quantifier modifies the mass nouns also.

Quantifier 'thamtset with count nouns:

### 2.86 piipu-waa khayet juukan-ni 't6hoko phumu phitsa 'thamtcet kurik <br> Piipu-HUM2 plural village-ABL men woman child all all

'thik-na kurik pakka-la rika-la thø-nar-a bet.
fetch NFNT1 all outside-DAT forest-DAT flee-COMPL-NMLZ;Q AUX
'People of Piipu village took all men, all women and all children from the village and escaped to a forest.'

The quantifier 'thamtset not only marks the plural of the head noun but entails the idea that the whole village went into hiding.This example is from a story which tells how the villagers ran away to avoid being arrested by the police. The quantifiers modify all three nouns which are juxtaposed without any conjunction in between. There is more about conjunctions in chapter 9.3.

Quantifier thopaa with count nouns
2.87 sakpu thopaa tsik dep-pen.
day few one stay-1PST
'I stayed for few days.'
2.88 polis holtar toik than pempu 'trhi-yaa toik than
police sergeant INDF and gov.official great-COMP2 INDF and
sipayi thopaa trik jur-ni 'ni gompa-tu
soldier some INDF come-NFNT2 DM Gomba-LOC
sartsimin trhi-pa bet.
public.hearing do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q AUX
'After a police sergeant and an influential gov. official and a handful of soldiers had come they conducted public hearing in Gomba village.'

### 2.6.4 Numerals marking plural of count nouns

Just like any quantifier a cardinal numeral may mark the plurality of a noun or a NP. Next examples illustrate this:
2.89 matar dzapa 'sum thyt-na 'khur-a bet si-kuk (TE7)
car hundred three drag-NFNT1 carry-NMLZ;Q AUX say-PROG;VIS
'They say:"(lt) dragged along three hundred cars."'
This is about the flooding of Arun river.

| 2.90 | phøt-ni mal-la | 'tsho | 'Ihaa-ni | natan-ki | go-ni | mal-la |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Tibet-ABL | down-DAT | lake | overflow-NFNT2 Naatang-GEN head-ABL | down-DAT |  |

dzami toytak trik thyt-na 'khur-a bet si-kuk. (TE7)
Chinese thousand one drag-NFNT1 carry-NMLZ;Q AUX say-PROG;VIS
'They say: "After a lake in Tibet had overflown (flood) it came down via Naatang village and it dragged along one thousand Chinese men."'
2.91 wa 'kheta 'sum tohuŋ-son=o. (TE9)

MIR load three become-PST.VIS=NEW.INF
'Vow, the buck wheat (harvest) turned out to be three loads.'
There are more examples about numerals modifying count nouns in chapters 3.1-
3.3.

Table 2.20 Summary chart of plural markings on count nouns, personal pronouns, demonstatives and NPs

| Morpheme tags | N or NP | English |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1PL.EXCL | jit | we, us |
| 1PL.EXCL-PL1 | yis-so | we, us (assoc. persons) |
| 1PL.EXCL-self-PL1 | nit-raj-so | we ourselves (assoc. persons) |
| 1PL.INCL-self | hatca-ran | we ourselves |
| 1PL.INCL-self-PL1 | hatca-raj-so | we ourselves (assoc. persons) |
| 1PL.INCL-self Quant | hatca-ray khajet | we ourselves |
| 2PL | 'khit | you |
| 2PL Quant | 'khit khajet | you (more than just few) |
| 2PL-PL1 | 'khis-so | you (assoc.) |
| 2PL-self-PL1 | 'khit-raŋ-so | you yourselves (assoc.) |
| 2PL-self-PL1 Quant | 'khit-ran-so khajet | you yourselves (assoc., more than just few) |
| 3SG-PL1 | roo-so | they (assoc.) |
| 3SG-PL1 Quant | roo-so khajet | they (assoc, more than just few) |
| 3SG-self-PL1 | roo-raj-so | they themselves (assoc) |
| 3SG-self-PL1 Quant | roo-ray-so khajet | they themselves (assoc, more than just few) |
| 3PL | 'khopa | they |
| 3PL-PL1 | 'khopa-so | they (assoc.) |
| this-PL2 | hi-pa | these, they |
| that-PL2 | u-pa | those, they |
| this-PL2 Quant | hi-pa khajet | these (more than just few) |
| that-PL2 Quant | u-pa khajet | those (more than just few) |
| N DEF-PL2 | mi di-pa | men (identified as participants on stage) |
| $N$ Quant | mi khajet | men (generic) |
| N Quant DEF | mi khajet di | men (identified as participants on stage) |
| N Quant | mi kurik | all men |
| N Quant Quant | mi khajet kurik | all men (all inclusive) |
| N Quant | mi 'tshetmit | innumerable number of men |
| N Quant | 'khim døntøt | a lot of houses |
| $N$ Quant | phitsa 'thamtset | all children (all inclusive) |
| N Quant | 'simtsen gak | many wild animals |
| N Quant | dawa gatcen | many months |
| NP Quant | mi 'tchijaa khajet | influential or powerful men |

### 2.6.5 Quantifiers modifying mass nouns

Mass nouns like water, milk, beer, liquor, rain, flood, snow, money, medicine, work, etc. obviously do not have plural. Quantifiers modify them and communicate the quantity of the head noun. There are some quantifiers which collocate both with count nouns and mass nouns. The following examples illustrate the use of quantifiers with mass nouns:

Quantifier døntøt with mass nouns:

| 2.92 ni roo-ran | nantsan di-la | ak |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 3SG-self | wife | DEF-DAT |
|  | INCLN |  |

twha than 'arak døntøt bin-son. (TE42)
tea and liquor much give[PST]-PST.VIS
'He gave also to his wife a lot of tea and liquor.'
This quantifier collocates also with count nouns.
Quantifier gatcen with mass nouns:
2.93 'men gatsen se-ni
medicine a.lot eat-NFNT2
'ni hi-ni attcet tsun-tu 'sum-tcuy. (TE42)
DM this-ABL little.bit small-COMP1 become.well-PST.EXP
'After I had eaten a lot of medicine the growth became little bit smaller.'

Quantifier gak with mass nouns:
2.94 pajisak gak lin do-ken bet.
money a.lot take go-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'He is going to charge a lot of money.'

Quantifier attcet with mass nouns:
2.95 ni u-ki 'khaa di thy-na 'sa att6et attcet daa 'ni
that-GEN snow DEF dig-NFNT1 ground little.bit little.bit lick[PST] DM
'khaa att6et att6et daa tshi-na det ton-ken bet. (TE9)
snow little.bit little.bit lick[PST] do;vbzr-NFNT1 stay IMMED-NMLZ;CONJ AUX 'It digs through snow, licks a bit soil, licks a bit snow and in so doing stays there.'
When snow covers a yak all over it is not bothered. It can remain under snow for a week or two.

Numeral 'one' with mass nouns:
2.96 'aku passay 'ritak-la 'arak toik bin. (TE4)
uncle passang Ritak-DAT liquor one give[IMP]
'Give uncle Passang Ritak a cup of liquor!'
In this particular context of a party everybody knows how much is 'one liquor.' It refers to a glass or a cup of liquor. The noun for a measure is left implicit.

## 3．Numerals

A numeral in Lhomi is a kind of quantifier and it expresses a number and quantity， sequence and frequensy．

## 3．1 Cardinal numerals

Lhomi has an extensive numeral system which is somewhat irregular．Though most Lhomis are farmers，trading is highly appreciated and therefore they have to have highly developed counting and numeral system．

Table 3．1 Cardinal numerals 1－100 and some large numerals

| 1 | tsik | 51 | ＇yaptsu＇ratsik | 200 | dza＇nii |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2 | ＇pii | 52 | ＇クaptsu＇ŋanni | 300 | dzaa＇sum |
| 3 | ＇sum | 53 | ＇クaptsu＇ŋaksum | 110 | dzatay tru |
| 4 | si | 54 | ＇クaptsu＇ŋарьi | 120 | dzatay yis6u |
| 5 | ＇ทа | 55 | ＇ŋарt6u＇ŋеךа | 137 | dzatay＇sumt6u ＇soptyn |
| 6 | thuk | 56 | ＇japtsu＇jaruk | 230 | dza＇yiitan＇sumtcu |
| 7 | dYn | 57 | ＇クaptsu＇ŋaptrn | 999 | dzoa gutay guptcu khorku |
| 8 | dzet | 58 | ＇クaptsu＇ŋaptcet | 1000 | tontak tsik |
| 9 | gu | 59 | ＇japtsu＇jarku | 2000 | tontak＇yii |
| 10 | t6u | 60 | thuktsu | 10000 | tontak tcu |
| 11 | trutcik | 61 | thuktsu raatsik | 10000 | ＇thi toik |
| 12 | tounni | 62 | thuktsu ranni | 100000 | bum toik |
| 13 | tsuksum | 63 | thuktsu raksum | 100000 | ＇lak trik（Nep．loan） |
| 14 | t6upsi | 64 | thuktcu rapsi | 1 million | saja tsik |
| 15 | tseja | 65 | thuktsu reja | 10 million | saja tou |
| 16 | t6yruk | 66 | thuktsu raruk | 10 million | trhipa tsik |
| 17 | tsuptrn | 67 | thuktsu raptyn | 100 million | ＇rippa tsik |
| 18 | tsaptcet | 68 | thuktsu raptset |  |  |
| 19 | tcurku | 69 | thuktsu rarku |  |  |
| 20 | yis6u | 70 | dYnteu |  |  |
| 21 | yis6u tsaatsik | 71 | dYntcu thøntsik |  |  |
| 22 | yis6u tsanni | 72 | dyntcu thønni |  |  |
| 23 | jísu tsaksum | 73 | dYntsu thønsum |  |  |
| 24 | †i¢6u tsapsi | 74 | dyntcu thøn¢i |  |  |
| 25 | yis6u tseja | 75 | dyntsu thøna |  |  |
| 26 | yis6u tsaruk | 76 | dyntsu thørruk |  |  |
| 27 | jísu tsaptyn | 77 | dyntcu thøntyn |  |  |
| 28 | jis6u tsaptcet | 78 | dyntcu thøntset |  |  |
| 29 | yie6u tsarku | 79 | drntcu thørku |  |  |


| 30 | 'sumtcu | 80 | dzatcu |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 31 | 'sumtsu 'sotsik | 81 | dzatsu saatsik |  |  |
| 32 | 'sumtsu 'sonni | 82 | dzatcu canni |  |  |
| 33 | 'sumtsu 'soksum | 83 | dzatcu saksum |  |  |
| 34 | 'sumtsu 'sopsi | 84 | dzatcu ¢арьi |  |  |
| 35 | 'sumtsu 'søŋa | 85 | dzatsu seja |  |  |
| 36 | 'sumtsu 'soruk | 86 | dzatcu saruk |  |  |
| 37 | 'sumtsu 'soptyn | 87 | dzatsu saptyn |  |  |
| 38 | 'sumtsu 'soptcet | 88 | dzatsu saptset |  |  |
| 39 | 'sumtsu 'sorku | 89 | dzatcu sarku |  |  |
| 40 | siptsu | 90 | guptsu |  |  |
| 41 | ciptcu satsik | 91 | guptsu khootsik |  |  |
| 42 | siptsu sanni | 92 | guptsu khonni |  |  |
| 43 | siptsu saksum | 93 | guptsu khoksum |  |  |
| 44 | siptsu варьi | 94 | guptsu khopsi |  |  |
| 45 | siptsu seja | 95 | guptsu kheja |  |  |
| 46 | siptsu saruk | 96 | guptsu khoruk |  |  |
| 47 | siptsu saptyn | 97 | guptsu khoptyn |  |  |
| 48 | siptsu saptset | 98 | guptsu khoptset |  |  |
| 49 | siptcu sarku | 99 | guptsu khorku |  |  |
| 50 | 'yaptsu | 100 | dza toik |  |  |

Those Lhomis who either have had some schooling or have been doing trading know all the numbers in table 3.1. However uneducated ones often know only numbers 120. Therefore the language has developed a way to get around difficult numbers in everyday life. The number 20 is a unit called 'khaa. Yohlmu also reports similar counting by twenties, (Hari, Anna Maria \& Chhegu Lama. 2004. Dictionary Yohlmo-Nepali-
English (Longer version, including Appendices 1-7). Kathmandu: Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University:710).

The following examples illustrate how simple counting can be done with this numeric unit:
20 'khaa tsik (lit. 'one twenty')
40 'khaa 'pii (lit. 'two twenties')
33 'khaa tsik than tsuksum (lit. 'one twenty and thirteen')
85 'khaa si than ' $\mathfrak{7 a}$ (lit. 'four twenties and five')
100 'khaa 'ŋa (lit. 'five twenties')
English numeral 'dozen' is also known among Lhomis and it is used occasionally.
They spell it dartsan. I assume that this originally comes from the British in India. One of the examples below illustrate this (NP with numerals is underlined):
3.1 rukkama-na 'khim dartsan ' $\underline{\underline{i i}=r a \eta \text { ka jøk-ken bet. }}$

Rukkama-IN house dozen two=FOC CEP EXIST-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Actually there are only two dozen houses in Rukkama village.'
The following examples show how Lhomi cardinal numbers are used with count nouns:

| 3.2 u-ki rin di | munta <br> that-GEN price DEF$\frac{\text { dza }}{\text { rupee }}$ |
| :--- | :--- |$\frac{\text { toik }}{\text { hundred }}$| si-kuk. |
| :--- |
| say-PROG;VIS |

$\begin{array}{lllll}3.3 & \text { 'thhoko mikku dyn } & \text { di=ran } & \text { jøk-ken } & \text { bet } \\ & \text { male man seven } & \text { DEF=FOC } & \text { EXIST-NMLZ;CONJ } & \text { AUX }\end{array}$
gompa luypa-na. (TE31)
Gomba village-IN
'There were only seven male persons in Gomba village.'

| 3.4 | 'thanmu | 'trhi luppa-la | gem-pu |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 'thangmu | 'trhi area-DAT responsibility-M1 | three EXIST-NMLZ;CONJ AUX |  |
|  | 'There were three top level leaders in the village area of Chepuwa.' |  |  |

## 3.5 sak-pu dyl-la tøø-toj. (TE6) <br> day-M1 seven-DAT build-1PL.HORT

'Let us build the bridge in seven days!'
This is from a text that describes how to build a bamboo suspension bridge.

### 3.2 Marking the group of participants on numerals

The masculine gender marker -pu marks a group of known participants when a NP has a numeral modifier and the reference is to human or animal participants who are already on the scene. The reference may be either masculine or feminine participants. In other words the masculine marker does not mark the gender with numerals. The feminine marker -mu is never used with numerals. Definite article (di) which follows the numeral further helps to identify the participants on stage. The following examples illustrate this:

| 3.6 | rekket | nantsan | 'pii-pu | di | thaako-tu | dep-pa |  |  | (TE21) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | mountain.goat | wife | two-M1 |  | cliff-LOC | stay- |  |  | UX |

'The mountain goat and (its) wife lived on a rocky area.'
'Two wives' refers actually to husband and wife. The text is a fable and the 'couple' has been brought to the scene in previous sentence.

| 3.7 | mi khajet di | 'tohoko mikku dym-pu |  | di |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| man plural DEF | male $\quad$ man seven-M1 | DEF |  |  |
| kurik 'thik-na |  | 'phim-pa | bet. (TE31) |  |
| all take.away-NFNT1 | go.come[PST]-NMLZ;Q AUX |  |  |  |
| 'Then (police) took the men, those seven men with them and went.' |  |  |  |  |

In this example the reference is to seven male persons who have been on stage for a while and who were the main suspects of stealing an idol.

```
3.8 ni pyn ''yii-pu di 'phin 'phin 'phin-ni... (TE41)
    brother two-M1 DEF go.come[PST] go.come[PST] go.come[PST]-NFNT2
    'The two, brother and sister went and went and went...
    Here the reference is to a sister and her brother who had to run away from home, yet the numeral is marked for masculine. They have been on stage for a while. pyn refers to brother, sister or cousin
```


## 3.9 pyn 'pikkar-la 'tchopu t6hi-ni u-ki pyn 'yii-p-y <br> sister both-DAT husband do;vbzr-NFNT2 that-GEN sister two-M1-GEN <br> 'trhopu u-ki 'tshaaken 'rii-pu di 'tshon-la <br> husband that-GEN brother-in-law two-M1 DEF trading-DAT <br> 'phim-pa bet (TE45) <br> go.come[PST]-NMLZ;Q AUX

'Since the two sisters both had a husband, the husbands of those two sisters, two brother- in-laws went for a business trip.

There are four characters in this story, two sisters and their husbands. In this example the first NP refers to two sisters (female) and the second NP to their husbands (male). Both NPs have the masculine marker.

### 3.3 Ordinal numerals

To get ordinal numerals in Lhomi we have to attach the ordinal numeral classifier -pa (ORD) to any cardinal numeral. The ordinal number 'first' is an exception, thaypuu. Ordinal numerals modify the count noun or a NP just the same way as cardinal numerals do. If the ordinal numeral is in the final position of a NP, it gets the appropriate grammatical marking of the NP, e.g. dative, genitive etc. The following examples illustrate the use of ordinal numerals (the whole NP is underlined):
3.10 u-ko pupu 'tshirin tsaa-ni 'ani-la kii-p-e that-head grandpa 'tshiring at-ABL aunt-DAT be.born-NMLZ;Q-GEN
phu 'na-pa di bet.
son five-ORD DEF COP
'That one is the fifth son who was born to aunt from grandpa Chiring'.

### 3.11 dawa 'sum-pa-la 'sø-le the-toj. (TE9) <br> month three-ORD-DAT survive-NMLZ slash-1PL.HORT

'Let us slash and burn in the third month!'
To get new fields people first slash the trees and then later burn them up, (slash and burn method).
3.12 lewu 'sum-p-e 'aŋki 'na-pa doo-na tø.
chapter three-ORD-GEN number five-ORD read-NFNT1 look.at[IMP]
'Read and look at the fifth numbered section of the third chapter!'
This may refer to any book that has headings and numbered sections.

### 3.4 Partitive numerals

Lhomi has a word for 'one half' but other fractions are expressed in more complex ways. Fractions are used in reference to time, count and mass nouns, various measurements of volume, weight, area, length etc. The following examples illustrate fractions (NPs with fractions are underlined):
3.13 'onpu-la 'jak-ki 'tahikka 'ak phøt-lan-la mip-pa bet.(TE32)
strength-DAT yak-GEN half INCLN Tibetan-bull-DAT NEG.EXIST-NMLZ;Q AUX
'As for strength, Tibetan bull does not have even half of yak's.'
The lexical head (strength) of the noun phrase is permuted to the front for
highlighting purpose.

### 3.14 'khit-raŋ 'aku khajet-la y-e duksi 'tohikka-tsøt toik 'ik

2PL-self uncle plural-DAT 1SG-GEN hardship half-amount one INCLN
mat-non-a bet. (TE47)
NEG-experience-NMLZ;Q AUX
'You uncles, you have not experienced even one half of my hardships.'
Speaker claims that he has had greater troubles in his life than his uncles whom he blames for neglecting their mother.

| 3.15 'aku passan u-tu lona | 'tohi-tan | 'yii | 'thuk |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| uncle passang that-LOC | year half-COM | two | up.to |  |
| dep-pa bet. |  |  |  |  |
| stay-NMLZ;Q AUX |  |  |  |  |
| 'Uncle Passang stayed there up to year and half.' |  |  |  |  |

Note that the fraction 'half' precedes the numeral 'two' and as the result the construction refers to year and half rather than to two and half years.

There are two alternative ways in Lhomi to use the fraction numeral 'one half'. This is particularly true in telling the time of a clock. The following two examples illustrate this.

### 3.16 't6hu-tsøt 'tøhi-tan 'sum 'lit-tuk. <br> water-amount half-COM three arrive-PRF.VIS <br> 'The time is half past two.' (Lit. 'Water-clock has reached half three'.)

### 3.17 'tchu-tsøt ' $\mathbf{y}$ ii than 'tchikka 'lit-tuk. <br> water-amount two and half arrive-PRF.VIS <br> 'The time is half past two.' (Lit. Water-clock has reached two and half.)

### 3.18 tsampa 'khekur 'sum than 'tshikka-tsøt toik nø-pen.

flour 'khekur three and half-amount one buy-1PST 'I bought three and half 'khekur (about three and half litres) of flour.'

### 3.5 Complex fractions

Fractions like $1 / 3,1 / 5$ etc. are not used that often and therefore the language employs rather complex way to express them. Lhomi requires a relative clause for that.

```
3.19 n-e luk khajet go si-la ta\eta-e go toik
    1SG-GEN sheep plural part four-DAT send;vbzr-NMLZ;Q-GEN part one
    '6i-so\eta.
```

    die-PST.VIS
    'One fourth of all my sheep died.' (Lit. 'One part of my sheep which were divided into four parts, died.')

## 4. Determiners

Lhomi has demonstrative determiners and articles that fall into this word class.

### 4.1 Demonstratives

In Lhomi demonstratives function as modifiers of a noun or a NP and also as free pronouns. In the latter function they always have a third person reference, singular or plural. In the previous function they resemble definite article.

### 4.1.1 Demonstratives as free pronouns

The proximal demonstrative pronoun is hi- which is a bound morpheme. The reference is to something or someone near the deictic center. The distal pronoun $\mathbf{u}$ - refers to a bit further away from the deictic center. It is these bound roots that take the case markings. When these roots compound with the noun go 'head, part', we get hi-ko and uko which typically do not take case markings. They are the absolutive forms of the Lhomi demonstrative pronouns. When the referent is animate the dative case marker may occasionally combine with these pronouns like in example 4.6.

The referent of the demonstrative pronouns can be either animate or inanimate. As free pronouns they can fill any slot of a noun, third person personal pronoun or a NP in a clause, e.g. subject, object and indirect object. These pronouns are very much like English demonstrative pronouns this, that, these and those. Lhomi demonstrative pronouns take the same case markings as nouns or NPs.

Plural counterparts of demonstrative pronouns are: hi-pa and u-pa, 'these' and 'those'. These plural forms have typically animate referents. The plural marker (PL2) is the same that marks the plural on nouns and NPs, see section 2.6.2.

Consider the following examples (demonstrative pronoun is underlined):
4.1 hi-ni hi-ko thup-son. (TE9)
this-ABL this-head end-PST.VIS
'Now this is finished.'

The reference is to a particular field work which has been talked about in previous sentences.

| 4.2 | 'jonma di-ki | 'lama di | hi-ko |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| other bet. (TE8) |  |  |  |
| 'Other person said: "As for the lama, this/he is the one."', |  |  |  |

Men are looking for a certain lama and asking where he might be and he happens to be right there but they do not recognize him. Someone else tells them.
4.3 'tohøtnø di-ki ha hi-la 'la tsik lin-na bin. (TE49)
shaman DEF-ERG now this-DAT vitality INDF request-NFNT2 give[IMP]
'The shaman says: "Perform now the 'la' ritual for him."'
The reference is to a sick man. An evil god is holding his good health, his vitality captive. The ritual would make the god to release it.
4.4 u-ki tiy-la kurik tap do-ken bet. (TE30)
that-GEN after-DAT all go.away go-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'All will follow that one and go.' Lit. 'All will go after that one.'
This is from a story which tells about the habits of sheep. The reference is to the leader sheep who goes ahead and all others follow it.
$\begin{array}{llll}4.5 & \text { tin-laa } & \text { tshar-na } & \text { 'ni } \\ & \text { behind-ADVZR } & \text { remain-NFNT1 } & \text { DM }\end{array}$
u-la 'ni tsa ga-a mit-non-ken bet. (TE30)
that-DAT DM grass be.pleased-COMP2 NEG-get-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'If (a weak one) falls behind (the stronger ones), it does not get the better quality grass.'

This is about sheep. Those who go ahead will eat up all good grass.

## 4.6 u-ko-la thii-na

that-head-DAT enquire-NFNT1
mimi 'tshintum-ki siŋkan di khan di bek=ka? (TE42)
resp.lama 'tshintum-GEN house DEF which DEF COP=Q
'I asked her: "Which one is the house of respected lama 'tshintum?"'
4.7 hi-pa 'pii-pu das-si das-si dik-ken bet. (TE52)
this-PL2 two-M1 be.alike-INTNS be.alike-INTNS harmonize-NMLZ;CONJ AUX 'These two (principles) have exactly same value.'
This refers to two marital principles that have equal weight in Lhomi culture.

| 4.8 | thøm-mik-ki | thik-la | dukpa non-ken | di-pa |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | topic-NEG-GEN | concerning-DAT | hardship get-NMLZ;CONJ | DEF-PL2 |

hi-pa bet. (TE63)
this-PL2 COP
'Those who experience hardships for no reason, are these ones.'

Table 4.1 Proximal and distal demonstrative pronouns with case markings

| Case | Proximal SG | Proximal PL | Distal SG | Distal PL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ABS | hi-ko |  | u-ko |  |
| -pa ABS |  | hi-pa |  | u-pa |
| -na IN | hi-na |  | u-na |  |
| -tu LOC | hi-tu |  | u-tu |  |
| -ki GEN | hi-ki | hi-p-e | u-ki | u-p-e |
| -ki ERG | hi-ki | hi-p-e | u-ki | u-p-e |
| -ki INS | hi-ki | hi-p-e | u-ki | u-p-e |
| -la DAT | hi-la, hi-ko-la | hi-pa-la | u-la, u-ko-la | u-pa-la |
| -ni ABL | hi-ni | hi-pa-ni | u-ni | u-pa-ni |

As can be seen from table 4.1 the compound pronouns hi-ko and u-ko occur only in absolutive case and very rarely combine with dative case, hi-ko-la, u-ko-la.

Since these demonstratives are free pronouns they may function as the head of a demonstrative phrase as well. The structure of a DEMP is as follows (a hyphen indicates a suffix and brackets optionality):
DEM (-PL2) (AP) (QUANT) (=FOC) (DEF/INDF) (-CASE)

### 4.1.2 Ablative case marked demonstratives used as locative source

The following examples illustrate how the proximal and distal demonstratives (hi-ni, u-ni) are used with motion verbs as a locative source (the source is underlined):

## 4.9 'khit-ran hi-ni dzouk. <br> 2PL-self this-ABL <br> run.away[IMP]

'Go away from here!'
This refers to the location of the speech act.

### 4.10 juj-ni u-ni mal-la thø-na juŋ-ni

come-NFNT2 that-ABL down-DAT flee-NFNT1 come-NFNT2
'mikma 'suŋmara hassøt hi-ni mal-la tohe. (TE17)
mikma 'sungmara VIP this-ABL down-DAT do;vbzr[PST]
'After Mikma Sh. had run down from higher up there, he fled from here down.'
In this story the deictic center is where the speech act takes place, Chepuwa village. The villain of the story is wounded and has been running down from higher than the village (u-ni mal-la) and then he runs even lower down from Chepuwa (hi-ni mal-la).

In section 4.1.8 there are examples of how proximal and distal demonstratives are also used as temporal relators between clauses.

### 4.1.3 Demonstrative determiners modifying nouns and NPs

A noun or a NP may be surrounded by demonstrative determiners on both sides. Speaker marks a participant or a topic as highlighted and also helps the hearer to identify what he is talking about. Semantically Lhomi demonstrative determiners work very much the same way as the English demonstrative determiners'this' and 'that' (e.g. Givón, Talmy. 2001. Syntax, An introduction, Vol. I. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins:97). Grammatically the Lhomi counterparts are quite different which can be seen in the following formula and examples that follow. The structure is as follows (hyphen stands for a morpheme break and brackets for optionality):
(DEM-GEN) N (AP) (QUANT) (DEM) (-PL2) (DEF) (QUANT) (-CASE )
In this formula the demonstrative determiner which precedes the head noun is either proximal SG (hi-ki) or distal SG (u-ki) and always marked in genitive case. If the determiner precedes the head noun then on the right hand side either DEM or DEF is obligatory. Otherwise only the head noun is obligatory. As for why the demonstrative complement of the head noun is in genitive case (u-ki, hi-ki) it seems that it marks the location of the head noun. The following examples illustrate this (the NP is underlined):
$4.11 \frac{\text { hi-ki 'khim hi-ko } \quad \text {-e } \quad \text { hin/pet. }}{\text { this-GEN house this-head }} 1$ 1SG-GEN COP.EXP/COP
'This house is mine.'

As for the copula there are two options. If the speaker uses the first one he puts more focus to the fact that the house is his.
4.12 u-ki 'khim u-ko 'aku 'tshirin-ki bet.
that-GEN house that-head uncle 'tshiring-GEN COP 'That house is uncle Chiring's.'
4.13 hi-ni u-ki mi khajet di kurik lon-na
this-ABL that-GEN man plural DEF all rise.up-NFNT1
u-la su-wa ga-ntikma dzak-ken bet. (TE49)
that-DAT request-NMLZ;Q be.pleased-ADJVZR vbzr-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Then all those men rise up and make a firm formal request to her.'
The reference is to all those people and relatives who are present in the house. The begging is addressed to a feminine god.

'One of the secretaries puts this question to all those men: In fact which ones of you are those who oppose Jyaabu?'

### 4.1.4 Spatial demonstratives

Lhomi country is very rugged and perhaps therefore the language has developed a way for a speaker to point out to something or someone who is higher, lower or at the same level as the speaker. The referent is more remote than the distal demonstrative uko. In a rugged country a man may be 2-3 hours walk away and still be visible for a remote observer. When a person is pointing out to someone or to an animal which is far away, it does make a difference for the hearer whether the object is at the same level, higher or lower than the speaker/hearer. In an open country the referent is still within view when 'phoko, moko or joko are used. In a story the deictic center is normally the place where it is told. It is with these remote demonstratives that the language signals whether the movement from the source to goal is upward, downward or the same level, see the examples down below.

When a Lhomi man walks to south from his home area he goes to lower areas. The trail follows the river which runs to south. There are hardly any trails to east and west. I call these remote demonstratives, RDEM. They may be either free demonstrative pronouns or demonstrative determiners modifying a noun or a NP.

Table 4.2 Remote spatial demonstratives (RDEM) with case markings

| RDEM <br> (same level) | Case | RDEM (lower) | RDEM (higher) | In open country |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 'pho-ko | ABS | mo-ko | jo-ko | within view |
| 'phaa-na | IN | maa-na | jaa-na | within view |
| 'phaa-tu | LOC | maa-tu | jaa-tu | within view |
| 'phaa-ki | GEN,ERG,INS | maa-ki | jaa-ki | within view |
| 'phal-la | DAT | mal-la | jal-la | within view |
| 'phaa-ni | ABL | maa-ni | jaa-ni | within view |

The following examples illustrate these remote demonstratives:

| 4.15 | ni 'møpaa di-ki | jaa-na | io-ko | bet | n-e | 'khim |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| plougher DEF-ERG | up.there-IN | that.one-head COP | 1SG-GEN house |  |  |  |
| sin-na dZy | tøm-pa | bet. | (TE67) |  |  |  |
|  | say-NFNT1 information show-NMLZ;Q AUX |  |  |  |  |  |

'The plougher informed him saying: "My house is that, far away one, higher up over there."

The house is far away but within view and it is located higher than the place of the speech act.

'I did not even realize the coming of the lama from lower area to higher up here.'
Speaker reports about events of his own life and in this incident the lama had been visiting a lower area and came to the higher area where the speaker was at the time. Speaker was asleep when the lama came.

| 4.17 | mimi | maa-ni | mal-la | juukan 'mek-la |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| resp.lama | down.there-ABL | down.there-DAT village | lower-DAT |  |
|  | kurum-la | t6høn-son | (TE42) |  |
|  | kurim.rite-DAT | go[HON]-PST.VIS |  |  |

'Lama went to the lower village for the kurim ritual.'
The movement of the lama remains at the same level all the time but both his source location and his goal are lower than the location of the speaker.

### 4.1.5 Distal remote spatial demonstratives

Lhomi has one more type of demonstratives that signal far away distance from the deictic center. The referent is even more remote than in the case of RDEM which I have discussed in previous section. Since I do not have a better term I call them distal remote demonstratives, DRDEM. These demonstatives indicate both distance and relative altitude in relation to deictic center. In open country the referent may or may not be within view. There is no absolutive case for this demonstrative. They never occur as free pronouns. The reason might be that normally the referent is not within view to be pointed to. Genitive marked distal remote demonstrative is used as a complement of a NP. Other case markers with these demonstratives produce a locative phrase. The following chart lists them:
Table 4.3 Distal remote spatial demonstratives with case markings

| DRDEM <br> same level | Case | DRDEM <br> lower | DRDEM <br> higher | In open country |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| piki-na | IN | 'miki-na | 'iki-na | barely within view |
| piki-tu | LOC | 'miki-tu | 'iki-tu | barely within view |
| piki-ki | GEN,ERG,INS | 'miki-ki | 'iki-ki | barely within view |
| piki-la | DAT | 'miki-la | 'iki-la | barely within view |
| piki-ni | ABL | 'miki-ni | 'iki-ni | barely within view |
| piki-nala | ALL | 'miki-nala | 'iki-nala | barely within view |

The following examples illustrate these distal remote demonstratives (locative phrases are underlined):
4.18 kiraa di dit-na
'phin 'phin 'phin-ni game DEF chase-NFNT1 go.come[PST] go.come[PST]-NFNT2 his
'iki-tu
high.up.far-LOC
khay-ki 'sikka tsik-tu 'simtsen di 'sep-pa bet. (TE25)
mountain-GEN cleft INDF-LOC animal DEF kill-NMLZ;Q AUX
'The hunter went chasing and chasing the game and finally high up far away killed it in a cleft of mountain.'

The DRDEM ('iki-tu) is indefinite far away place and higher than the village where the speech act takes place.

4.19 'mikma 'sunmara \begin{tabular}{rl}
piki-nala \& 'linkan-nala <br>

'mikma 'sungmara \& | kantsi di |
| :---: |
| far.same.level-ALL |
| 'ingkang-ALL | <br>

sec.wife DEF
\end{tabular}

'thik-na tap-na 'khur-a bet. (TE17)
take.along-NFNT1 go.away-NFNT1 carry-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Mikma Shungmara took along his second wife and went to far away same level area, around Lingkang village.

This is from a historical narrative and Lingkang is not that far away place in reference to the deictic center which is Chepuwa where the story was told. It is only slightly higher than Chepuwa, hence the same level remote demonstrative piki-.
4.20 jamp- $\mathbf{~ d z a a p - y ~ ' t c h a ~ m a t - ø a k - p a - l a ~ ' m i k i - t u ~}$

Kathmandu-GEN king-ERG trust NEG-put-NMLZ;Q-DAT down.far.away-LOC
taala hok $\quad$ uk-tu $\varsigma a k-n i \quad$ 'rintak daa-na taj-a bet lo.(TE18)
floor bottom-LOC put-NFNT2 thread tie.up-NFNT1 send,vbzr-NMLZ;Q AUX DISCL
'Since the king of Kathmandu did not trust the lama, down there he lodged him at the bottom floor of a house and to put him to a test by tying a thin thread around his arm.'

This was a test for a famous lama who was invited by the king of Kathmandu. The lama had gone from his home in Lhomi country down to Kathmandu which is certainly a lower place than Chepuwa, the story telling place.

> Table 4.4 Summary of spatial demonstratives (with inessive case markings)

Relative altitude

|  | Proximal | Distal | Remote | Distal remote |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  | jaa-na | 'iki-na |
| Deictic center | hi-na | u-na | 'phaa-na | piki-na |
|  | maa-na |  |  |  |
| 'miki-na |  |  |  |  |
| Distance from the deictic center |  |  |  |  |

### 4.1.6 Demonstratives and movement to and from the deictic center

4.21 u-ni 'ni hunto 'phaa-ni 'tshul-la jun-e jaŋla ... (TE42)
that-ABL DM now there-ABL here-DAT come-NMLZ;Q-GEN
'Then at the time when I came from there to here...'
Speaker reports in Kathmandu about his trip from his home village to Kathmandu. The movement is towards the deictic center where he tells his life story. The altitude difference is not always taken into account.
4.22 'tshul-la matsu t6el-la ka tset-na jan 'phal-la 'sur-la here-DAT flock at-DAT order cut-NFNT1 CONTR2 away.there-DAT astray-DAT tap-na 'khur-ni 'ni ka t6øt 'mit-tshuu-ken. (TE30) go.away-NFNT1 carry-NFNT2 DM order cut NEG-be.able-NMLZ;CONJ
'If the shepherd closes the way for them towards the flock then they run actually far away from the flock and therefore one cannot stop them.'

Speaker is describing the work of a sheep shepherd. In driving the sheep to high country some stubborn individuals try to come back towards the flock and if prevented from doing so they run away from the shepherd and flock. It is the shepherd who is the deictic center here.
4.23 pilel-la 'phal-la 'tshul-la do-ja-la mi=ran
plane-DAT away.there-DAT here-DAT go-NMLZ;Q-DAT man=FOC
rii-la 7000 das-si tiket-ki 'khartsa do-kuk. (TE75)
each 7000 be.alike-INTNS ticket-GEN expenses go-PROG;VIS
'A return airplane ticket costs about 7000 rupees for each person.' (Lit. ‘Going away and back in an airplane...)

### 4.1.7 Indefinite spatial demonstratives

When the remote demonstratives compound with the noun 'tshøt 'amount, estimate' we get the indefinite remote demonstratives. These occur within a NP as the complement of the head noun or as free locative phrases. The only difference compared to remote spatial demonstratives in section 4.1.4 is that these point out to a location which is less definite.

Table 4.5 Location to and from the deictic center

| Location <br> away from deictic center | Case | Location towards <br> deictic center | Case |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 'phat-tsøt | ABS | 'tshut-tsøt | ABS |
| 'phat-tsøt-na | IN | 'tshut-tsøt-na | IN |
| 'phat-tsøt-tu | LOC | 'tshut-tsøt-tu | LOC |
| 'phat-tsøk-ki | GEN,ERG,INS | 'tshut-tsøk-ki | GEN,ERG,INS |
| 'phat-tsøt-la | DAT | 'tshut-tsøt-la | DAT |
| 'phat-tsøt-ni | ABL |  |  |
| 'phat-tsøt-nala | ALL |  |  |

In the table 4.5 I have listed demonstratives which refer to a place away from the deictic center and a place towards the deictic center. It is the verb that indicates the
direction and selection of the locative phrase (RDEM + 'tshøt 'estimate, amount'.) The following examples illustrate this:

| 4.24 | u-pa | 'phat-tsøt-ni | 'khatek-la ta-kin |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | that-PL2 | there.away-amount-ABL | nearby-DAT watch-NMLZ |
|  | dep-pa | bet. |  |
|  | stay-NMLZ;Q AUX |  |  |
|  | 'They |  |  |

### 4.1.8 Ablative marked demonstratives marking temporal linkage

When the ablative case marked proximal and distal demonstatives (hi-ni, u-ni) occur clause initially in narrative or travel stories they bind the next event to what precedes or the next step procedurally to what precedes.

4.25 | det-ni | pha-la dep-pen. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sit-NFNT2 | cow-DAT stay-1PST |

hi-ni 'tcheppa dzap-tøu. (TE3)
that-ABL rain vbzr-PST.EXP
'After I had sat down, I remained looking after the cows. Then or after this it began to rain.'

This text is a travel story. Literally hi-ni means 'from here' but it clearly functions as a temporal linkage when it starts a new sentence in this kind of a text.


### 4.2 Indefinite and definite articles

In Lhomi articles form a subclass of determiners just like demonstratives do. Lhomi has indefinite article tsik which is identical with the numeral one. The single definite article is di and the plural di-pa. I use the abreviations INDF and DEF for them.

The indefinite article identifies a new participant or a topic and the definite article marks the known status for them. Article in Lhomi is the grammatical head of a NP and gets the appropriate grammatical suffixation which the whole NP would receive. These articles never precede the semantic head noun of a NP. They are lexically empty and therefore they cannot refer to any object or a person like demonstratives hi-ko and u-ko often do. The NP with articles looks like follows (brackets stand for optionality):

NP (INDF) (DEF) (DEF-PL2)
Examples 4.27-34 illustrate this (the whole NP including the article is underlined):

4.27 | pekma-la | 'khim toik | too-ken. (TE4) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Pekma-DAT |  |
| house INDF | build-NMLZ;CONJ |  |

'I will build a house for Pekma.'
Speaker is the father of Pekma and this is the way he starts a procedural text which tells how to build a house.
4.28 matar-ki tsarka tsik pimpa 'tshirin-la 'pip-a
motor-GEN tyre INDF Pimpa 'tshiring-DAT find-NMLZ;Q
'Pimpa Chiring found a car tyre.'
This comes from the story that tells about the big flood in Arun river in the 60s.

### 4.29 thanpuu doole toik than khirik toik <br> long.ago monkey INDF and pheasant INDF <br> thopu dzap-a bet. (TE16) <br> b.friend vbzr-NMLZ;Q <br> AUX

'Long time ago a monkey and a pheasant made a ceremonial friendship.'
This is from a fable. These two animals are the only characters and this sentence introduces them for the first time.

### 4.30 'mikma 'suymara di-ki 'mintsun ŋøruk-ki

'mikma '6ungmara DEF-ERG 'mintøung nøruk-GEN
nantsan di 'thoo. (TE17)
wife DEF take.by.force[PST]
'Mikma Shungmara took (married) forcefully the wife of Mintбung Ngøruk.'
Both characters have been introduced earlier and hence the definite articles.

| 4.31 phøp-pa | 't6hoko toik-ki | u-na | don | di-na |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Tibetan-HUM1 | male INDF-ERG | that-IN | front | DEF-IN |
| bak-sin | pek-kuk. (TE29) |  |  |  |
| bamboo-wood | show.light-PROG;VIS |  |  |  |

'A Tibetan man there in front of (the room) was holding a burning bamboo torch.' Speaker is telling his dream. The individual Tibetan man is brought to the scene for the first time but the room is information given earlier and so is the group of Tibetans.

### 4.2.1 Plural marker PL2 with the definite article

This suffix marks the whole NP as plural. A NP or a noun marked with -pa normally has animate referents, humans and animals but occasionally it may also refer to props of important participants. If a quantifier is used for marking the plural then PL2 is not needed, e.g. daku khajet di. A count noun marked with a quantifier, e.g. khajet, refers to a larger number than if it were marked with -pa. Consider the following examples:

[^0]4.33 | ga-ntikma | saru | di-pa | doo-let. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| be.pleased-ADJVZR | beam | DEF-PL2 | bind-SCI |

'Bind the round wooden beams carefully (under the roof)!'
This is a clear reference to wooden inanimate beams. Speaker is the owner and others are helping to build his house and he himself is giving the orders. All beams and other parts needed for the new house are his property.
4.34 ' $\quad$ omak attcetma attcetma 'nomak dii-nar-a
di-pa
weed little.bit little.bit weed bend-COMPL-NMLZ;Q DEF-PL2
mi 'phim-p-e '6Y jøp-pa mip-pa
man go.come[PST]-NMLZ;Q-GEN tracks EXIST-NMLZ;Q NEG.EXIST-NMLZ;Q
das-si 'mat-sii-pa 'loy-na eak-ni 'ni u-ko
be.alike-INTNS NEG-know-NMLZ;Q raise-NFNT1 put-NFNT2 DM that-head
dep-pa bet u-ntuk tshi-na. (TE28)
stay-NMLZ;Q AUX that-ADVZR do;vbzr-NFNT1
'He straightened up the weeds that were bent down as tracks of someone having gone there and then kept on living normally'.

This is a man who murdered another man, hid the body in bushes and then straightened up carefully the weeds he had stepped on and bent. This was not to reveal that someone had been there. He is the main character/villain of the narrative.

## 5. Marking the grammatical case on nouns, adjectives, postpositions and demonstratives

In Lhomi the case markings apply on phrase level as well as word level. There is more about case markers in section which tells about clause patterns in chapter 14.1. For the time being I mostly ignore the case markings on nominalized verbs.

There are ten grammatical cases in total, not counting the absolutive. This includes also what I call honorific vocative case. Genitive, ergative and instrumental case markers are homophonous. The Lhomi case marking system seems to have some similarities to Kham (see Watters David E. A Grammar of Kham Cambridge University Press:59-63).

The case markers are always attached to the last element of a noun phrase. Table 5.1 illustrates the morphophonemic changes of the stem final vowel with the ergative, genitive and instrumental markers. There are no such changes with other case markers.

## Table 5.1 Morphophonemic changes of the stem final vowel with case markers

| Stem final <br> vowel | ABS | ERG/GEN/INS |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathbf{i}$ | $\mathbf{i}$ | $\mathbf{i - i}$ |
| $\mathbf{i i}$ | $\mathbf{i i}$ | $\mathbf{i i}-\mathbf{k i}$ |


| e | e | e-ki |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\varnothing$ | $\varnothing$ | $\boldsymbol{\sigma}$-ki |
| Y | Y | Y-ki |
| a | a | -e |
| aa | aa | aa-ki |
| 0 | 0 | -б |
| 00 | 00 | 00-ki |
| u | u | -Y |
| uu | uu | uu-ki |

Table 5.2 Case markings with personal pronouns

| CASE | 1SG | 2SG | 3SG[HON] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Absolutive | クа | 'khøt | 'khon |
| Ergative | ท-e | 'khok-ki | 'khon-ki |
| Dative | ja-la | 'khøt-la | 'khoy-la |
| Comitative | クа-taŋ | 'khøt-tan | 'khoj-tan |
| Genitive | n-e | 'khok-ki | 'khoj-ki |
| Ablative | ya tsen-ni | 'khøt tsen-ni | 'khoj tcen-ni |
| Instrumental | y-e lam-ni | 'khok-ki lam-ni | 'khoj-ki lam-ni |
| Locative | ya tsen-tu | 'khøt tsen-tu | 'khoj tsen-tu |
| Inessive | ja tsen-na | 'khøt tcen-na | 'khoj t6en-na |

Table 5.2 also illustrates how the stem final alveo-palatal stop It/ (here phonetically a glottal) assimilates to velar stop /k/ when the case marker -ki is attached. At the same time the rounded front vowel /øl changes into rounded back vowel /ol. The latter change is true only with this personal pronoun.

Table 5.3 Case markings with animate nouns

| CASE | child | friend | sheep |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Absolutive | phitsa | daku | luk |
| Ergative | phits-e | dak-Y | luk-ki |
| Dative | phitsa-la | daku-la | luk-la |
| Comitative | phitsa-tan | daku-tan | luk-tan |
| Genitive | phits-e | dak-Y | luk-ki |
| Ablative | phitsa tcen-ni | daku tsen-ni | luk-ni |
| Instrumental | phits-e | dak-Y | luk-ki |
| Locative | phitsa tcen-tu | daku tsen-tu | luk tsen-tu |
| Inessive | phitsa tcen-na | daku tsen-na | luk tsen-na |
| Allative | ------- | ------ | ------ |


| vocative | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

Table 5.4 Case markings with inanimate nouns

| CASE | house | water | grinder |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Absolutive | 'khim | 't6hu | laakor |
| Ergative | --------- | --------- | ------ |
| Dative | 'khim-la | 'tshu-la | laakor-la |
| Comitative | ------- | -------- | laakor-tan |
| Genitive | 'khim-ki | 't6h-Y | laakor-ki |
| Ablative | 'khim-ni | 'tohu-ni | laakor-ni |
| Instrumental | -------- | 't6h-Y | laakor-ki |
| Locative | 'khim-tu | 'toh-y naj-tu | ----------- |
| Inessive | 'khim-na | 't6h-y naj-na | laakor-ki naj-na |
| Allative | ------- | -------- | -------- |
| Vocative | ------- | -------- | --------- |

For the sake of illustration I have added some PPs in the tables above because those particular nouns cannot have all case markers attached to the stem. In those examples the noun is the complement of a PP and it is the final element of the PP that gets the case marking.

### 5.1 The absolutive case

Absolutive case is the base form (unmarked) of all nouns, demonstratives, articles, pronouns and NPs. There is no need to give examples here since there are so many illustrations about the use of absolutive case in chapter 14 under clause.

### 5.2 The ergative case

Ergative case marks the agent and the semantic role dative in a Lhomi clause. Since Lhomi can be classified as a language of split ergativity, the agent may be also in absolutive case. There is more about the use of ergative case in section on clause in chapter 14. In this section I only give couple of examples. The examples 5.1-2 illustrate ergative case marked agent/subject and 5.3 illustrates ergative case marked semantic role of dative. Ergative case marked words are underlined:
5.1 ク-e dortsi-la ra trik tson-køt.
1SG-ERG dortsi-DAT goat INDF sell-PROG;EXP
'l am in a process of selling a goat to Dortsi. Or: I'll sell a goat to Dortsi.'
$5.2 \begin{array}{lll}\text { gott-e } & \text { tossan } & \text { kej-son. } \\ \text { 3SG-ERG } & \text { alum.pot } & \\ \text { fill-PST.VIS }\end{array}$
'He filled the pot.'

$$
\begin{array}{llllll}
5.3 & \underline{\mathbf{u}-\mathbf{k i}} & \text { b-e } & \text { kettea 'ha } & \text { khoo-ken } & \text { bet. } \\
\text { that-ERG } & \text { 1SG-GEN language } \\
\text { 'He understands my language.' }
\end{array}
$$

### 5.3 The dative case

In Lhomi the dative case (DAT) expresses motion to a place and is marked by the suffix -la. It also marks the locative goal of motion verbs like 'go, come, enter, run, move, throw' etc. Furthermore it marks the animate object of a transitive verb and the indirect object of a bi-transitive verb, see more in chapter 14. Dative in Lhomi has a wide range, covering adessive and illative cases too. It is my intention to keep dative case and the semantic role called dative separate throughout this grammar sketch. I always mark the semantic roles in bold. Consider the following examples (dative case marked nouns and NPs are underlined):

```
5.4 rukkama-la suu-ni
    Rukkama-DAT
        enter-NFNT2
    pimpa '\etaøruk-ki 'khim-la 'phim-pen. (TE3)
    pimpa '\etaøruk-GEN house-DAT go.come[PST]-1PST
    'After I had entered Rukkama village I went to the house of Pimpa Ngøruk.'
5.5 u-ki \etaa-la 'arak toik bin-tsuy.
    that-ERG 1SG-DAT liquor INDF give-PST.EXP
    'He gave me some liquor.'
    Dative case marks the IO in this example of a bi-transitive clause.
\begin{tabular}{llll}
5.6 & 'mem-paa-ki & 'mik-la & te-t6un. \\
& medicine-HUM2-ERG & eye-DAT & look-PST.EXP \\
& 'The doctor looked at my eye.' &
\end{tabular}
5.7 ja-la duk6i noj-tcuy.
1SG-DAT hardship experience-PST.EXP
‘I experienced hardships.’
Dative case marks here the grammatical subject.
5.8 gotta-la 'khim jøk-ken bet.
3SG-DAT house EXIST-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'He has a house'. Or: 'He owns a house'.
Dative case marks the grammatical subject again in this bi-receptive (BR1) clause.
```


### 5.4 The comitative case

Lhomi has bi-transitive clauses that have comitative case marked semantic role of associative. There are also certain postpositions that require comitative marked complements, see more in chapter 6.3 on postpositions.

| 5.9 | mimi | 'tshintum | sik-ken | di | nik-ki |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |$\quad$ dompu

nit-tan 'nentør=ran bet. (TE42)
1PL.EXCL-COM good.friend=FOC COP
'The resp. lama called Chintum is our guest, a close friend with us.'
Comitative is used rather than a genitive because the lama ranks socially so much higher than the speaker.

| 5.10 | y-e | クa-tan | da-la | do-ken |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 1SG-ERG | 1SG-COM | with-DAT | go-NMLZ;CONJ Lhomi |

'I looked for a Lhomi man, a friend who would travel with me.'
Comitative case marks the complement of the PP which has the semantic role of associative here.

```
5.11 roo uko-tan dza-ken bet.
    3SG that-COM get.along-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
    'He gets along well with him.'
    Comitative case marks the semantic role of associative, clause type is BR5.
```

| 5.12 | 'ani-ki | na-tan | tamsu | lap-tsun. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | aunt-ERG | 1SG-COM | conversation | talk-PST.EXP |
|  | 'My aunt tal | ed with me |  |  |

### 5.5 The genitive case

The genitive constructions in Lhomi cover all kinds of meanings like possession, kinship and other more abstract meanings (see Dryer Mathew S. Noun Phrase Structure. in Shopen, Timothy ed. 2007. Language Typology and Syntactic Description Vol.
II:178. Cambridge University Press:178). When an adjective is a complement of a noun or an indefinite pronoun it is marked in genitive case and it precedes the head, see 7.7. Genetive marker is also a relativizer in some relative clause types, see 16.1.1.

It is the possessed item or genitive noun phrase which is the head of the NP in Lhomi genitive constructions. Lhomi makes no distinction between alienable and inalienable possession. If a genitive marker is attached to a personal pronoun it becomes a possessive pronoun. Possessive pronoun expresses ownership kind of relationship but also kinship or other kind of association. Consider the following examples:

### 5.13 rukkama-la suu-ni <br> Rukkama-DAT enter-NFNT2

pimpa 'nøruk-ki 'khim-la 'phim-pen. (TE3)
pimpa 'ŋøruk-GEN house-DAT go.come[PST]-1PST
'As soon as I had entered Rukkama village, I went to the house of Pimpa Ngøruk.'

| 5.14 mi khajek-ki | hatca-ran-ki | le hi-la |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| man plural-ERG | 1PL.INCL-self-GEN | work this-DAT |  |
| ga-tse | mem-pa | 'tshor-ken | bet. |
| feel.good-ADJVZR NEG.COP-NMLZ;Q regard-NMLZ;CONJ | AUX |  |  |
| 'Men regard this work of ours as no good.' |  |  |  |

$5.15 \underline{\text { hi-ki 'khim hi-ki dakpu di }}$ 'su bek=ka
'Who is the owner of this house?'
This is a typical example of using demonstrative determiners in noun complements.

### 5.6 The ablative case

The ablative in Lhomi carries the meaning of direction 'from inside out' or 'from the top of a given source'. It also combines with some postpostions, see more in chapter 6. Ablative in Lhomi covers the meaning of ablative and elative cases. Ablative case also marks the semantic roles of locative in some clause types, see examples 5.17-19. Consider the following examples:

| 5.16 | u-ni | 'lama dzaap-y | nantsay-ki | 'tshemmu |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | that-ABL | lama dzaabu-GEN wife-ERG | night |  |

juukay-ni mal-la ket dæapna
village-ABL down.there-DAT voice vbzr-NFNT1
wak ŋ-e 'sir-ku tor-son. (TE31)
MIR 1SG-GEN gold-idol get.lost-PST.VIS
'Then the wife of lama Jyaabu at night shouted from the village downward saying: "My golden idol is lost."'

This village is located higher than any other village in the area, hence 'from the village down'.
5.17 ni ro di 'khim-ni tøm-p-e ja引-la ... (TE51)
corpse DEF house-ABL take.out-NMLZ;Q-GEN time-DAT
'At the time when (they) carry out the dead body from the house...'
This is from a funeral procession. Ablative case marks here the semantic locative role, 'from the house'.

### 5.18 'tchu-ni 'thøn-ni

water-ABL come.out-NFNT2
dzap thay dzimlok-ki hok-la gon-ken bet. (TE50)
rock and vegetation-GEN under-DAT hide-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'After it has come out of water, it hides behind/under rocks and vegetation.'
This is from a story about hunting barking deer.

### 5.19 ја doppu-ni

'tshar-tsuy.
1SG tree-ABL
fall.down-PST.EXP
'I fell down from a tree.'
The ablative case marks the semantic role of locative in this clause, clause type is BR3.

### 5.7 The instrumental case

Instrumental case typically marks the means of the accomplishment of an action. There is more about instrumental case as a marker of verbal arguments in sections 14.1.1 and 14.1.7. As for the phonological conditioning of this case marker, see under genitive case in section 5.5.

Though Lhomi has three important cases (GEN,INS,ERG) marked with homophonous suffixes, it is not difficult to keep them separate in a running text. Order of verbal arguments in a clause, animate/inanimate contrast and other syntactic clues help the hearer to keep track which is which. The following examples illustrate the use of the instrumental case (INS):

| 5.20 | pulis-ki | mi | 'thakp-e | kin-son. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | police-ERG man | rope-INS | bound-PST.VIS |  |
|  | 'Police tied the man with a rope.' |  |  |  |


'He caught a snake with his hands.'

### 5.8 The locative case

The general locative case -tu (LOC), 'at, in, on' is used in Lhomi to mark the semantic role of locative when the verb expresses activity or an event at the place, e.g. staying over night, having guests, running a party, having a meeting, death, birth etc. Inessive on the other hand is more static and marks a state of affairs at the place and thus collocates mostly with existential verb and only rarely with other verbs. Locative case in Lhomi does not mark the goal, movement toward the location which is marked by dative case. Consider the following examples:
$5.22 \frac{\text { 'khim-tu }}{\text { house-LOC beer place put.leave-PRF.VIS }}$ 'tohan 'luk sak-tuk. (TE3)
'At home (someone) had placed beer for drinking.'
Speaker is telling about his travel and final arrival at home. At home someone had already placed a pot of beer for him to drink.
5.23 juukan-tu dawa 'pii dep-pen. (TE73)
village-LOC month two stay-1PST
'I stayed in the village for two months.'

### 5.24 juukay-tu thøn 'nampa 'sum-ki le tohi-pen. (TE77)

village-LOC meaning kind three-GEN work do;vbzr-1PST
'In the village I did three kinds of work.'
Someone is reporting about his activities in the village where he had visited.

### 5.9 The inessive case

Lhomi often marks the semantic role of locative in inessive case (IN). The verb must be existential or a verb which expresses an on-going activity or state, see more under clause in chapter 14.1.5. Sentence initial inessive with demonstratives (hi-na, u-na) also marks the scene for the following activities. In other words this is a static case in contrast to more dynamic cases. Inessive combines also with the postposition 'inside of' when the above mentioned conditions are fulfilled. Consider the following examples (case marker and existential verb are underlined):

### 5.25 'linkan-na tesci-ki 'khim-na 'phon 'sampa tsik <br> Lingkang-IN te66i-GEN house-IN phone new INDF <br> tøn-na iøk-ken bet. (TE74) <br> install-NFNT1 EXIST-NMLZ;CONJ AUX <br> 'In Lingang village in the house of Tesshi (they) have installed a new telephone.'

### 5.26 'khon 'khim-ki naj-na duk.

3SG[HON] house-GEN inside-IN EXIST.VIS
'He is inside of the house.'
5.27 'khim di-la suu-na 'phin-na u-na phøp-pa gatcen
house DEF-DAT enter-NFNT1 go.come[PST]-NFNT1 that-IN Tibetan-HUM1 many
tsik dzom-na u-na phøt sapra 'phak-kuk. (TE29)
INDF gather-NFNT1 that-IN Tibetan dance dance-PROG;VIS
'I entered the house and there was a group of Tibetans dancing there.'
Speaker is reporting his dream. In both occurrences u-na refers to the location which is the interior of the house mentioned earlier. Dancing is an on-going activity in this example.
ni u-na luk thrt-nar-a 'ha
that-IN sheep drag.away-COMPL-NMLZ;Q aud.impact
mit-khoo-ken bet. (TE30)
NEG-hear-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'There (in the shed) the shepherd does not hear a sheep being dragged away.'
u-na refers to the shed which has been mentioned before. It marks the known location. Shepherd has no dog and he does not hear when a leopard drags away one of his sheep at night.

```
5.29 'lama dzaap-Y na\etatsa\eta di 'tshitcu ton-sa-na
    lama dzaabu-GEN wife DEF 'tshitøu send;vbzr-ground-IN
    jøk-ken
    bet. (TE31)
    EXIST-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
```

'The wife of lama Jyaabu was in the place where they were performing the 'tshitbu ritual.'
This is an example which illustrates how inessive marks the locative role of the existential verb. The case marker is attached to a nominalized verb.

### 5.10 The allative case

In Lhomi allative (ALL) typically expresses motion towards the referent but also location which is not accurately specified and therefore it means 'around, to, towards, in the area of, in the vicinity of'. Allative case marker combines with nouns, NPs, demonstratives, proper place names and question words.

```
5.30 hi-ni 'sajep-so 'miki-nala tshøn-tsuy. (TE3)
    this-ABL sajib-PL1 far.down-ALL come[HON]-PST.EXP
'Then Sahib's family arrived down there.'
```

Speaker does not specify the location because it is known to the hearer. The speech act takes place in Chepuwa and the reference is to a lower place two days walk from Chepuwa.

### 5.31 'tsheppa dzak-kin dzak-kin sempun-nala juŋ-en. (TE3) <br> rain vbzr-NMLZ vbzr-NMLZ sempung-ALL come-1PST <br> 'While it was raining I came to Sempung village area.'

5.32 'jak kha-nala 'soj. (TE32)
yak where-ALL go[PST.VIS]
'To what direction have the yaks gone?'
This is less specific than kha-la. Speaker asks this question to himself. There is no answer because yaks have gone away like wild animals.

### 5.33 jari 'khantok-nala dze-ni 'thok $\quad$. <br> some roof-ALL climb-NFNT2 shingle pull.out-NFNT1

nuk tohi-na 'phir-na thø-nar-a bet. (TE34)
this.way do;vbzr-NFNT1 jump-NFNT1 escape-COMPL-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Some climbed up towards the roof, pulled out the shingles, jumped down and excaped.'

These men were inside the house and the door was bolted from outside. They managed to flee through the roof.

### 5.34 'iki-nala dzarok than rika-la nuk tohi-na

far.up.there-ALL crevass and forest-DAT this.way do;vbzr-NFNT1
thø-na 'khur-ni 'ni 'jen 'mit-tshuu-ken bet. (TE34)
flee-NFNT1 carry-NFNT2 DM search NEG-be.able-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'After they had run away to higher altitude, rocky forested area, no one was able to look for them.'

This is from a story that tells how police tried to find the men of a certain village but they always ran away into forest before the police arrived.

### 5.11 The vocative case

Lhomi does not have a common vocative case marker as such. However in addressing someone the noun ran 'self' is compounded to the term of address, such as kinship term, name (rarely) or title to mark a vocative case. The meaning can be glossed into English like 'uncle yourself, lama yourself' etc. Reflexive pronouns are constructed in the same way, see more under reflexive pronouns in section 2.5.2.

Lhomi does have a proper honorific vocative case marker -laa. This marker attaches to titles, proper names and kinship terms. The following examples illustrate the honorific vocative case marker and how the word ran marks the common vocative case:
5.35 hunto 'aku-ran mennak-ki 'lin-la jøk-ken bek=o. (TE51)
now uncle-self darkness-GEN totality-DAT EXIST-NMLZ;CONJ AUX=NEW.INF
'I inform you uncle that now you are in complete darkness.'
Lama is addressing the soul of a dead man in post mortem rites.

### 5.36 ni u-na 'aku nitca-ran 'thaypuwa dzaapuwa jøt-to.

that-IN uncle 2 SG[HON]-self healthy strong EXIST-PROB
'Perhaps/hopefully you uncle are in good health.'
The writer of a letter hopes that the recipient is in good health.
5.37 ha na 'aku dzentser-ran 'en-бuk-la loŋ-let.
now RSPNS uncle dzendzen-self first-end-DAT rise.up-SCl
'Now uncle Jyendzen, rise up first!'
This is a polite command addressed to a group of men and therefore the name must be used.

| 5.38 | ha $\frac{\text { mimi-laa }}{}$ tø tø khanta |
| :--- | :--- |
| now resp.lama-VOC[HON] look[IMP] look[IMP] what |  |
| puu-t6e $\quad$ mip-pa (TE42) |  |
| offer-SBJV $\quad$ NEG.EXIST-NMLZ;Q |  |
|  | 'Respected lama, look I have nothing to offer you!' |

This is a proper honorific vocative marker which is attached to kinship terms and titles.

## 6. Postpositions and PPs

In Lhomi the complement of a postposition $(P)$ is either a noun, a NP, a pronoun or a nominalized clause (NP). It is the postposition or the following article which gets the case marking.

Lhomi has also honorific postpositions. In the table 6.1 I have listed some of them.
There are three types of complements, those marked in genitive case, those in absolutive case and those in comitative case. It is the first type which is the most common.

Typically a PP fills the semantic role of locative in a Lhomi clause. The following formula gives an idea of what sort of things can be in a PP:
$N$ (ADJ) (QUANT/NUM) (DEF/INDF)-GEN P(-CASE) (DEF) (-CASE)

### 6.1 Postpositions with genitive complements

This is the most common postpositional phrase type in Lhomi.

## Table 6.1 Postpositions with genitive marked complements and case markings

| Complement | Postposition (-CASE) | English |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| N,NP,-GEN | naj-la, -na, -ni, -tu | inside, in |
| N,NP,-GEN | doy-la, -ni, -tu | in front of, |
| N,NP,-GEN | thuy [HON]-la, -tu, -ni | in front of |
| N,NP, -GEN | kyntyl[HON]-la, kyntyn-tu | in presence of, at |
| N,NP,-GEN | 'thok-la, -tu, -ni | on top of, |
| N,NP,-GEN | hok-la, -na, -tu, -ni | under, underneath |
| N,NP,-GEN | 'tshi-la, -tu, -ni | outside of, |
| N,NP,-GEN | loo-la, -tu, -na, -ni | right beside of, right at |
| N,NP,-GEN | tip-la, -ni | behind, |
| N,NP,-GEN | 'el-la, | ahead of |
| N,NP,-GEN | 'tshik-la, -na, -tu, -ni | among, amidst |
| N,NP,-GEN | khun-la, -tu, -na, -ni | among, in between |
| N,NP,-GEN | 'ar-la, -tu, | in between, |
| N,NP,-GEN | 'artak-la, -tu, | in between, |
| N,NP,-GEN | thik-la, -ki | about,concerning |
| N,NP,-GEN | thøl-la, thøn-tu, thøŋ-ki | for sake of, about |
| N,NP,-GEN | Øoo-la, -tu, -ki | at the life time of, |
| N,NP,-GEN | kap-la, -ni, -ki | at the time period of, |
| N,NP,-GEN | jay-la, -ni, -ki | at the time of, |
| N,NP,-GEN | 'saa-la, | at the season of, at the time of |


| N,NP,-GEN | lam-ni | by means of, through |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| N,NP,-GEN | '‘attsa-la, -tu | nearby, beside, |
| N,NP,-GEN | '‘am-la, -tu, -ni, -ki | at the bottom of, |
| N,NP -GEN | 'ŋøn-tu, 'ŋøl-la | in midst of, among, |

The following examples illustrate this type of PPs which are underlined:
6.1 ク-e
toto
'khim-ki naj-la
6uu-son.
1SG-GEN eld.brother house-GEN inside-DAT enter-PST.VIS 'My brother entered the house.'
6.2 khant-e thik-la tamsu lap-køp=pa?
what-GEN about-DAT talking talk-PROG;EXP=Q
'What are you talking about?'

| 6.3 | 'thonpa 'khim-ki hok-na | jøk-ken |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| plough house-GEN under-IN | EXIST-NMLZ;CONJ AUX |  |
| 'The plough is underneath the house.' |  |  |

6.4 'khon-ki yoo-la jit-la kip-aa tshuy.

3SG[HON]-GEN face-DAT 1PL.EXCL-DAT happiness-COMP2 become[PST]
'During his life time/tenure we became very happy.'
This is said about the time of a good official or a king.
6.5 riki 'ok-p-e 'saa-la tho-pu 'lit-tsuy.
potatoe dig-NMLZ;Q-GEN time-DAT b.friend-M1 arrive-PST.EXP
'The bond friend arrived at the time of digging potatoes.'
Nominalized clause is the complement here.

### 6.2 Postpositions with absolutive complements

Lhomi has a sub-class of postpositions which require absolutive complements. The following table lists some of them:

Table 6.2 Postpositions with absolutive complements and case markings

| Complement | Postposition (-CASE) | English |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| N,NP | tcaa-la, -tu, -na, -ni | at, to, at locality |
| N,NP | t6el-la, t6en-ni, -tu, -na | at, to, |
| N,NP | クø-la, -ni, -tu | in the direction of, towards |
| N,NP | 'thuk, -la, -ki, =ran | up to, as far as, till |

The following examples illustrate some postpositions of table 6.2:

```
6.6 \etaа 'aku_t_ toaa-la do-ken.
    1SG uncle at-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ
    'I go to uncle.'
    Wherever the uncle happens to be, house, field.
```

| 6.7 | 'Iho $\quad$ ng-la | 'phim-pen. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| south towards-DAT | go.come[PST]-1PST |  |
| I went towards south. Or: 'I headed for south.' |  |  |

6.8 'khentapaari-ni jal-la photebaas 'thuk gati tsur-aa

Khandbari-ABL up.there-DAT Bhodebaas up.to car small-COMP2
do-kuk. (TE73)
go-PROG;VIS
'Smaller cars go from Khandbari upwards, up to Bhodebaas.'
The PP in this last example combines also with verbs and then it marks temporal end point, see more in 17.1.10.

### 6.3 Postpositions with comitative complements

Table 6.3 Postpositions with comitative marked complements

| Complement | Postposition (-CASE) | English |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| N,NP, -COM | tsaja | likeness, similarity |
| N,NP, -COM | 'tshetmit | like, similar |
| N,NP, -COM | da-la, | together with |
| N,NP, -COM | kay-tsik-la | together with, |
| N,NP, -COM | mu-tsik-la | together with, |
| N,NP, -COM | mu-la | with |

The following examples illustrate the postpositions with comitative complements:

| 6.9 | ran uko-tan $\underline{\text { tsaja }}$ duk. |
| :--- | :--- |
| 2SG that-COM likeness EXIST.VIS |  |
| 'You are like him.' |  |


| 6.10 | phitsa-la | 'nin | 'tsha-j-e | phitsa-tan |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| child-DAT | heart | feel.hot-NMLZ;Q-INS child-COM | with-DAT |  |
| dep-pa | bet. | (TE21) |  |  |
| stay-NMLZ;Q AUX |  |  |  |  |
| 'Because she felt compassion towards the child she stayed with the child.' |  |  |  |  |

6.11 u-ni 'khon u-pa-tan kan-t6ik-la 'phim-pa bet. that-ABL 3SG[HON] that-PL2-COM leg-one-DAT go.come[PST]-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Then he travelled together with them.'

### 6.12 uko-tan mu-taik-la naa-ni phu-mu <br> that-COM together.with-one-DAT sleep-NFNT2 son-F1 <br> phutsima tshuy-a bet. <br> pregnant become-NMLZ;Q AUX <br> 'Having slept with him the girl became pregnant.'

## 7. Adjectives

Lhomi adjectives express most of the following semantic properties: Size, color, auditory qualities, shape, taste, tactile, evaluative, transitory and states of living. (from Givón, Talmy. 2001. Syntax, An introduction, Vol. I. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins:82) Syntactically Lhomi adjectives modify nouns and NPs, occur as predicate adjectives of copular, existential and other verbs and form a genitive case marked complements of a NP.

Typically an adjective follows the noun it modifies. It is the adjective which is the grammatical head of a NP except when it precedes the noun. Comparative, superlative and intensified forms of adjectives do occur in Lhomi.

Consider the following examples of prototypical Lhomi adjectives (NPs and modifying adjectives are underlined):

## 7.1 hunto juukay-la 'thim 'sampa than 'ninpa <br> now village-DAT law new and old <br> rii-na t6øk-ken bet. (TE36) <br> be.mixed-NFNT1 cut-NMLZ;CONJ AUX

'Nowadays in the village (they) judge/rule mixing the new and old way of administration.'

This means that both old Lhomi ways and new Nepali government ways are being used.

## 7.2 raj-ki nantsay di 'simpa thappu duk. (TE42) <br> 2SG-GEN wife DEF mind honest EXIST.VIS <br> 'As for your wife, she is an honest person.'

A lama tells this to the woman's husband. Statement is based on lama's superior insight and ability to see any man's heart, hence duk. The wife is absent. This is an equative clause with existential verb.

Table 7.1 lists some adjectives which look like prototypical. However I do not have final proof that they really are. As I show later in this chapter most Lhomi adjectives are derived from nouns and verbs.

Table 7.1 Some prototypical adjectives

| Adj | English | Adj | English |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1. 'sippu | yellow | 10. dzyma | false |


| 2. kappu | white | 11. t6un | small |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3. 'mappu | red | 12. nak-pu | black |
| 4. 'クom-pu | green, blue | 13. nak-mu | black |
| 5. 'クom-mu* | green, blue | 14. 'khakpu | bitter |
| 6. say-pu | morally good | 15. 'ninpa | old |
| 7. say-mu | morally good | 16. 'sampa | new |
| 8. ajekpa | evil, bad | 17. tsajma | clean, pure |
| 9. 'phuntija | fat (person) | 18. 't6hi | great, big |

### 7.1 Traces of grammatical gender in adjectives

Looking at the list of adjectives in table 7.1 it is easy to see that some adjectives have kept the gender markers (-pu and -mu), some have only masculine and most do not have any. These same gender markers attach also to a limited number of nouns, see more in section 2.4.4 on gender. Only in very few adjectives the gender markers -pu and -mu are productive. It seems that they have become grammaticalized. The following two examples illustrate some gender marked adjectives:


This is one of those few adjectives that mark the gender in this way. The reason may be that in shamanism it does make a difference whether the sacrificed chicken is black male or black female. The masculine form (nak-pu) modifies also nouns like 'human face', 'sheep' and few other nouns without any masculine reference. The stem nak- refers to black color or dark in some compound words. When it is used as a free noun (nak) it means a crime. For Lhomis evil deeds and bad characters are often associated with black.

Another interesting example is the adjective than-mu and thay-pu. These are derived from a verb and I talk about derivational processes a bit later. Consider now the following two pairs of examples:

| 7.5 mi | than-si | tsik | mi than-pu | tsik |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | man cool.off-INTNS | INDF | man cool.off-M1 | INDF |


| 7.6 | 'tshu than-si | duk. | 'tshu than-mu |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| water cool.off-INTNS EXIST.VIS | water cool.off-F1 | duk. |  |
|  | EXIST.VIS |  |  |
|  | Water is very cold. | 'Water is cold.' |  |

I conclude that the gender markers have become grammaticalized with this root than- which is a verb meaning 'to become cold (liquids)'. The masculine marked than-pu
modifies only humans and the feminine marked than-mu modifies only fluids, food etc. There is no longer gender difference.

I do have examples of 'nom-pu 'green, blue', but none of the feminine counterpart 'nom-mu*. Probably here too the gender difference has been neutralized through grammaticalization just like with the examples 7.5-6. For most Lhomis by the way this adjective refers both to green and blue color. Consider the following example:

| 7.7 | donpu u-ko | ' $\mathbf{y o m - p u}$ | duk. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tree that-head | green-M1 | EXIST.VIS |  |
|  | 'That tree is green.' |  |  |
|  | This illustrates a predicate adjective. |  |  |

I take one more pair from the list, say-pu, say-mu. Only the masculine form occurs as an adjective. Both forms are used as proper names, one for men and the other for women. say as a free noun refers to coppar metal or coppar pot which is highly valued by Lhomis and regarded as ritually clean, free of defilement and it has certain functions in their shamanism. It seems that san-pu is derived from the noun san 'coppar' and san-mu is just a feminine marked noun used as a proper name for ladies. Therefore they are not really prototypical adjectives and should not be in the list 7.1.

```
7.8 u-ko mi sa\eta-pu bet.
    that-head man coppar-M1 COP
    'He is a morally clean person.'
```

| 7.9 | u-ki | phu-mu | di-la | say-mu | sik-ken | bet. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | that-GEN | son-F1 | DEF-DAT |  | coppar-F1 | say-NMLZ;CONJ |

'That girl is called Sangmu.'
As the previous examples show the gender markers (-pu and -mu) and the human classifier -pa, HUM1 are no longer productive in adjectives but have become grammaticalized. From now onwards I do not always treat them as separate suffixes but often lump them to preceding morpheme, unless there is a clear reason to keep them separate.

### 7.2 Derivational operators that produce adjectives from nouns, postpositions and adverbs

There are quite a few derivational suffixes which attach to noun stems and verb roots and produce an adjective. I have called them adjectivizers and label just ADJVZR. There are five among them which are also inflectional suffixes but all others are derivational only.

List of some nouns, adverbs and postpositions that can be adjectivized:
'than 'strength,health'
'tchuk 'cattle'
'thim 'law, administration'
'tha 'tiny precious stone'

| toan | 'alertness' |
| :--- | :--- |
| man | 'large amount' |
| nun | 'small amount' |
| pam | 'dignity' |
| golo | 'beauty' |
| 'jok | 'servanthood, service' |
| 'en- | 'before, ahead' |
| tin- | 'after,behind' |

The following pairs of examples illustrate first the noun and then the derived adjective:

N-stem + -pokma derivational and inflectional operator

| 7.10 | gem-pu | tsaa-la | 'thim | su=tu | do-ken |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| headman-M1 | to-DAT | law | request=PURP | go-NMLZ;CONJ | AUX | 'He goes to the village headman to file a court case.'

The term 'thim has wide semantic coverage but it certainly is a noun.

| 7.11 mi | 'thim-pokma | dzim-pokma | mit-na |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| man | law-ADJVZR | skill-ADJVZR | NEG.EXIST-NFNT1 DM |

ka t6øt 'mit-tshuu-ken bet. (TE32)
order stop NEG-be.able-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Unless there is a smart and skillful man, (no one) is able to stop it (yak).'
Speaker tells how to raise yaks.
N-stem + -paa/-yaa/-aa/-a COMP2, derivational and inflectional operator

| 7.12 | dzo 'thim-paa | jum-ken |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| dzo law-COMP2 | come-NMLZ;CONJ | bet. (TE32) |
|  | AUX |  |

'Dzo is smarter (than other hybrids).'
Speaker is telling about various crossbreedings of cow and yak. There is implicit comparison in this example of predicate adjective, see more about that in section 7.4.

## N-stem + -puwa ADJVZR, derivational and inflectional operator

### 7.13 ŋa 'than 'tshet-tsun.

1SG strength become.snapped-PST.EXP
'I lost my strength (e.g. after a long walk).'

| 7.14 | 'khit-ran | 'than-puwa | jøp-pa | ton. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 2PL-self | strength-ADJVZR | EXIST-NMLZ;Q | send;vbzr[IMP] |
|  | 'May you remain_healthy!' |  |  |  |

The sense of this adjective varies depending on the noun it modifies and which derivational suffix is used. This is predicate adjective of the complement-clause verb.

| inflectional operator |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 7.15 | butta | tøt-na | sø-p-e | 'sir-la |
|  | decoration | carve-NFNT1 | make-NMLZ;Q-GEN | gold-DAT |
|  | 'tha | tsik | 'luk-pa bet. |  |
|  | tiny.precio | s.stone INDF | put-NMLZ;Q AUX |  |
| 'He mounted a small precious stone to golden frame which was decorated.' |  |  |  |  |
| The noun 'tha refers to any small precious stone which may be mounted to a ring or |  |  |  |  |

### 7.16 sy 'tha-netmu

body tiny.precious.stone-ADJVZR
'Skinny, small body'
This adjective modifies nouns like finger, body, voice etc. The meaning is small, tiny, weak. The original noun refers to a small precious stone.


| 7.18 | u-p-e | roo-raj-so |  | t6an-si |  | hi |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | that-PL2-ERG | 3SG-self-PL1 |  | alertness | TNS | C |
|  | sik-ken | 'ni ma | di | khurte | jøk |  |
|  | say-NMLZ;CONJ | DM CONTR1 | DEF | F stupid | EX | ST- |

'They are the ones who say about themselves: "We are very smart" but in fact they are stupid'

| N-stem /Adv/PP+-maa AD |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 7.19 | mi go-maa | 'lit-t6uy. |
|  | man head-ADJVZR | come-PST.EXP |
| 'The first man arrived.' |  |  |
| This refers to time and order. |  |  |

### 7.20 tin-maa-ki sa pimpa juŋ-ken bet. <br> after-ADJVZR-GEN weekday Sturday come-NMLZ;CONJ AUX <br> 'He comes on next Saturday.

In this example -maa adjectivizes the postposition tin-. The derived adjective is the complement of the noun sa.
7.21 ...thaŋpuu ja 'tshi 'em-maa di-la... (TE21)
long.time.ago 1SG incarnation early-ADJVZR DEF-DAT
'...long time ago in my previous life...
The stem of the adjective 'em-maa is 'en- which is not a free morpheme but an adverb stem which is adjectivized in this example. Its meaning is 'early, before.' Typically it follows the lexical head 'tshi.

## N -stem + -tu COMP1, derivational and inflectional operator

### 7.22 mi man thaa-son. <br> man large.amount become-PST.VIS <br> 'There turned out to be large crowd of men.'

### 7.23 dzointak di-ki 'tsha di u-la man-tu

owner DEF-GEN trust DEF that-DAT large.amount-COMP1
'phii do-ken bet. (TE49)
increase go-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'The trust of the owner/host toward the shaman will increase more.'
Shaman is trying to heal a sick whose relative does not trust in him. This is predicate adjective.

N- stem + -60 SUP, derivational and inflectional operator
7.24 thoj-ki 'ama di-la 'hak man-60
family-GEN mother DEF-DAT authority large.amount-SUP
juj-ken bet. (TE52)
come-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'The housewife has more authority than anybody else (in the family).'
N-stem + -løt ADJVZR, derivational and inflectional operator
This adjectivizer occurs in questions. The meaning of this marker includes the idea of 'how', e.g. 'how long, how tall, how good' etc.

| 7.25 | pam-tan dzii-la <br> dignity-COM <br> beauty-DAT <br> 'A thing which is used for beauty with dignity' |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

7.26 nitca-ran-ki 'amt $\quad$ pok-ki alon uko na-la pam-løt

2SG[HON]-self-GEN ear-GEN earring that 1SG-DAT dignity-ADJVZR
juŋ-kuk=ka $\quad$-e taa-na te-ki=te. (TE66)
come-PROG;VIS=Q 1SG-ERG wear-NFNT1 look-1SG.HORT=EMPH
'Let me wear and see how proper your earring would be for me!'
Speaker wants to wear and try the earring of someone else to see if it fits well for him.

### 7.3 Derivational operators that produce adjectives from verbs

The following pairs of examples illustrate how the derivational operators produce adjectives from verbs. Reportedly also Yohlmu, a closely related language derives a lot of adjectives from verbs. (see Hari, Anna Maria. 2010.Yohlmu Grammar Sketch. SIL International and Central Department of Linguistics Tribhuvan University. Kathmandu:27). Typically more than just one of the adjectivizers can be attached to a verb root. The resulting adjectives may modify different nouns or there may be a slight semantic shift but I leave those details out from this sketch. The first example illustrates the use of the verb and then another one illustrates the use of the derived adjective:

V-root + -si INTNS, derivational and inflectional operator
7.27 ŋа ki u-la dzoii-tsun.

1SG dog that-DAT become.afraid-PST.EXP
'I got afraid of that dog.'

| 7.28 | mi | dzpii-si | toik | jun-ken |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | man fear-INTNS | INDF | come-NMLZ;CONJ | buX |

'A formidable man comes.'
Others are afraid of him.

## V-root + -pokma ADVZR, derivational and inflectional

7.29 luk 'tshay-tuk=ka?
sheep become.perfect-PRF.VIS=Q
'Has the full number of sheep come?' Or:'Is the fold complete?'

| 7.30 | 'onpu | 'tshan-pokma |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| phys.health | duk. |  |
| become.perfect-ADJVZR EXIST.VIS |  |  |
| 'His health is perfect. He is perfectly well.' |  |  |
| This is predicate adjective. |  |  |

V-root + -pøtma ADJVZR, derivational only
7.31 ran mat-thak-son.

2SG NEG-become.cleansed-PST.VIS
'You did not tell the whole truth'. Or: 'You did not turn out morally clean, e.g. in court.

| 7.32 | khulak thak-pøtma <br> clothes become.clean-ADJVZR | ty. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 'Wash[IMP] |  |  |

V-root + -ntikma ADJVZR, derivational only
7.33 да le-la 'lo di-tsun.

1SG work-DAT will warm.up-PST.EXP
'I became happy about the work'. Lit. 'My heart warmed up towards the work.'
This is predicate nominal.
7.34 ŋа 'lo di-ntikma ..... duk.1SG will warm.up-ADJVZR EXIST.VIS
'I am happy and free of worries'. Lit. 'My inner being is warm.'
The NP which has the noun and adjectivized verb is the predicate nominal of this equative clause.
7.35 na u-la $\frac{\text { V-root }+ \text {-ntiya ADJVZR, derivational only }}{\text { ga-toun. }}$
1SG that-DAT
'I got pleased about him/that.'
7.36 'khim ga-ntija duk.house be.pleased-ADJVZR EXIST.VIS'The house is good, or well built.'
V-root + -t6etma ADJVZR, derivational only
7.37 ŋа 'tsheppa 'tsha-kuk.
1SG heat feel.hot-PROG;VIS
'I feel hot.'In a hot weather when one is sweating.
7.38 u-tu 'røt-ni mimi than ja-la 'tsha-t6etma
that-LOC heat.up resp.lama and 1SG-DAT feel.hot-ADJVZR
ken-tcun. (TE42)
fill.up-PST.EXP'After she had heated up (the liquor) right there, she poured out the hot (liquor) to thelama's cup and mine.'

This is elliptical since the previous sentence provides the missing information. Therefore the noun head (liquor) of the NP (hot liquor) is missing.
V-root + -ntingma ADJVZR, derivational only
7.39 hi-la ja yuu 'tsha mit-gø-pa ..... jøt.this-DAT 1SG face become.hot NEG-need.to-NMLZ;Q EXIST.EXP'For this I have no need to feel hot on face'. Or: 'I have no need to be embarassedfor this.'
7.40 '6ar-ni 'tshul-la 'luypu 'tsha-ntinma
east-ABL toward-DAT wind become.hot-ADJVZR dzap-a bet.
vbzr-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Very hot wind blew from east towards us.'

The adjectivized verb modifies the noun 'wind' in this example.

$$
\underline{\text { V-root + -pu or -mu, derivational only }}
$$

These adjectivizers are illustrated in section 7.1. Though they have been grammaticalized I have included them in the table 7.1.


### 7.42 mi 6øn-60 di 'su pek=ka

man ride.on-SUP DEF who COP=Q
'Who is the youngest man?'
Also єøm-pokma, єøm-pøtma and $\boldsymbol{\varnothing m - p u w a ~ o c c u r . ~ T h e ~ v e r b ~} \boldsymbol{\epsilon}$. sexual act of cattle and perhaps therefore the derived adjectives mean 'young'. This is my assumption and I have no backing for this from native speakers at the moment. There is more about superlatives in section 7.5.

## $\underline{\text { V-root + -tu comP1, (comparative process) }}$

### 7.43 u-ko 'tshøt-ni 'neppa mat-thak-pa

that-head sacrifice-NFNT2 sick.person NEG-be.healed-NMLZ;Q
na-tu na-tu 'phin-na... (TE49)
be.sick-COMP1 be.sick-COMP1 go.come[PST]-NFNT1
'Having sacrificed it, the sick person is not healed but becomes more sick...

> V-root + -paa, -yaa, -a, -aa, -waa, coMP2 (comparative state)

This suffix is phonologically conditioned by the stem final phoneme in the following way: I-jaa/ occurs after lil, IkI, Iol. I-al occurs after Ial. I-aa/ occurs after InI, Ir/. I-waal varies freely with I-jaal. I-paa/ occurs elsewhere.

### 7.44 'khit-ran thak-paa mat-thak-paa

2PL-self become.well-COMP2 NEG-become.well-COMP2
'tchukpu tajpu 'su-ran hin-na ak ga-ntikma nen.
rich poor who-self COP-NFNT1 INCLN be.pleased-ADJVZR listen[IMP]
'You higher and lower ones, you rich and poor ones, whoever you might be listen carefully!'
thak-paa refers to those who are healthier and also wealthier than others. When the standard in comparison is left implicit as it often is in Lhomi, the comparison is to others in a group, in a village or any others nearby. There are more examples about comparatives in section 7.4.

## V-root + -løt ADJVZR, derivational and inflectional

This adjectivizer occurs in questions. The meaning of this marker includes the idea of 'how', e.g. 'how long, how tall, how good' etc.

```
7.45 \etaа ga-t6u).
    1SG become.pleased-PST.EXP
    'I really got pleased.'
```

| 7.46 | 'mø-la | ga-løt | do-køtan |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | ploughing-DAT | be.pleased-ADJVZR | go-NMLZ |

nam tøøt=tu do go-køt.
darkness cut=PURP go have.to-PROG;EXP
'I have to go and find out how good they are in ploughing.'
Speaker wants to test the bulls how they are doing in ploughing.

### 7.4 Comparative degree of adjectives

Thomas E. Payne says: "The crucial elements of a grammaticalized comparative construction are: 1) the known standard against which the subject of the clause is compared, 2) the marker that signals that the clause is a comparative construction, and 3) the quality by which the subject is compared with the standard." (Payne, Thomas E. 1997. Describing morphosyntax: A guide for field linguists. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press:81). The marker that signals the item to which the comparison is made is -le (COMP.BASIS) in Lhomi and the adjective is marked by COMP2 suffix. The order of these grammatical elements in Lhomi is:
STD-MRK QUAL
STD-MRK QUAL
7.47 'iak-le dzo ga-a
yak-COMP.BASIS dzo be.happy-COMP2 come-NMLZ;CONJ AUX CONTR2
'In fact dzo is better than yak.'
Story tells about different crossbreeds of yak and bovine cow. dzo is the crossbreed of yak (male) and cow. The general quality of dzo is compared to yak.

STD-MRK
QUAL

STD-MRK QUAL STD-MRK QUAL

turn.out-SBJV think-NMLZ;Q-GEN mind DEF only NEG.EXIST-NMLZ;Q-INS
'khit khajet kha-ntuk tshi-na
2PL plural what-ADVZR do;vbzr-NFNT1
't6hi-jaa-la 'thøŋ-ken? (TE46)
great-COMP2-DAT turn.out-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
'Because each of you only has the inner desire to be smarter and more influential than the other one among you, how do you ever become prosperous?'

Speaker, the village leader is reprimanding the villagers who disobey and do not participate in community rites. Speaker blames that the villagers only try to become smarter and more influential than those around them and neglect the needs of the whole community.

### 7.50 'lama u-ko 'tвhi-jaa hij-køppet. <br> lama that-head great-COMP2 COP-INFER

'In my opinion that lama is greater than others.'
There are other lamas around but the speaker infers that the one he points out to ranks higher than others. The standard is not mentioned, but everybody knows it.There are two fellows and this is the inference of the first one. The example 7.51 gives the statement of the other.

STD-MRK
7.51 u-le
that-COMP.BASIS jøk-ken
EXIST-NMLZ;CONJ
'sumpu 'joŋma
even.more other

## pet.

AUX

> QUAL
't6hi-jaa
great-COMP2
'There is another one, even higher ranking than him.'
This speaker knows better and he corrects the previous speaker. There is also the adverb 'sumpu which further re-enforces the comparison.

| 7.52 | QUAL |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| hi-ko |  |  |
| this-head |  |  | | le-si |
| :--- |
| nice-INTNS |$\quad$| duk. |
| :--- |
| EXIST.VIS |

'This is really nice looking.'
Speaker observes visually and makes this statement. The item compared may be anything e.g. cloth, a thing, a tool etc.

| 7.53 | STD-MRK |  | 'jonma other | QUAL <br> le-si |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | hi-le | 'sumpu |  |  |
|  | this-COMP.BASIS | even.more |  | nice-INTNS |
|  | jøk-ken | pet. |  |  |
|  | EXIST-NMLZ;CONJ | AUX |  |  |

'There is another one which is even nicer than this.'

Another speaker knows better and corrects the previous speaker. In this example the adjective is not in comparative form but it is the adverb 'sumpu which signals the comparison.

## Implicit comparison

Lhomi does not always make exact comparison but leaves comparative basis and standard implicit. Then the standard is generally understood by all or is the average. The following examples illustrate this:

```
7.54 ha na tsikpak dzap-ton.
    now RSPNS wall build-1PL.HORT
    'khe-paa 'khe-paa 'thik-let. (TE4)
    skill-COMP2 skill-COMP2 fetch-SCl
```

'Let us build the stone walls! Go and fetch some rather skilfull men!'
Speaker uses the comparative form but the standard is left implicit. Actually the standard is an average villager. He needs those who are more skilled than most men.
7.55 gem-paa
di hi-ni 'sonor-ran loŋ-let. (TE4)
responsibility-COMP2
DEF this-ABL Sonon-self
get.up-SCI
'Now Sonon, you are older than anybody else in this group, get up!'
Speaker asks men to get up in the order of social rank and now is the turn of Sonon.
He is older than the rest in the group.
7.56 døntøt sim-paa duk 'we dzapre hi-ko. (TE9)
very.much attach-COMP2 EXIST.VIS SCA buckwheat this-head
'This buck wheat is much tastier than normally/average.'
Speaker tastes it and then makes this statement.

### 7.5 Superlative constructions

The superlative degree of adjectives is marked by the superlative suffix (SUP) -60 which is a derivational and inflectional suffix, see more under derivational operators in sections $7.2-3$. If the standard of comparison is made explicit, it is often marked by ablative case marker -ni rather than -le which is used to mark the standard for comparative construction. However the latter marker also occurs. The following examples illustrate the superlative:
STD-ABL

| 7.57 | ni rik-e | tsha | khajek-ki |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| forest-GEN fowl | plural-GEN number-ABL | tshamtan-ki |  |
| monal.pheasant-GEN |  |  |  |

QUAL
7.58 dzo ga6-60 $\quad$ jun-ken bet.

dzo | beased-SUP $\quad$ come-NMLZ;CONJ AUX |
| :--- |

'The dzo (the crossbreed of cow and yak) is the best (of them all).'
In this one the standard is left implicit because the whole story is about
crossbreeding yaks and cows and crossbreeding their crossbreeds etc.
7.59 phumu 'pii 'sum tsik-la te-ni
girl two three INDF-DAT look.at-NFNT2
u-ko khay-ko gac-60 duk=ka
that-head which-head be.pleased-SUP EXIST.VIS=Q
u-la mo tap-na ta-ken bet. (TE65)
that-DAT divination strike-NFNT1 look.at-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'After they have seen two or three girls, they use divination to find out which one is the best.'

In this example the standard is indicated by the whole sentence construction and the question word khajko.

```
7.60 'lam-e 't6hø 'ionma 
7.60 'lam-e 'tohø 'ionma
        QUAL
    ma\eta-60 ju\eta-ken bet. (TE51)
    a.lot-SUP come-NMLZ;CONJ
        khajet-le
```

        STD-MRK
        plural-COMP.BASIS
    'Compared to other religions the lamaism is the most common (in the village).'
    To put explicitly the standard marker means that the superlative marker highlights
    the point here that the lamaism is really the dominant religion in Lhomi area.

## Superlative absolute

When there is neither implicit nor explicit comparison the superlative form just highlights the superior quality of an adjective in general. The meaning is often like 'very good, extremely nice'.

QUAL
7.61 刀-e 'aku 'than-60 min-tuk.

1SG-GEN uncle strength-SUP NEG-EXIST.VIS
'My uncle is not very healthy.'
Speaker signals that his uncle is not seriously sick but is not in good health either.
7.62 ni mi jari-ki jan 'trhe 'kho-p-e 'Iha u-ko
man some-ERG CONTR2 DETERM 3PL-PL2-GEN god that-head QUAL

```
ga6-60 ta mem-pet. (TE54)
be.pleased-SUP EMPHP NEG-COP
```

'Actually some men say:"Now I realize that their god is not very good." ' There is no comparison at all in this illustration.

### 7.63 nepal dzaakak-ki 'クuu jur-s-e lam gac-60 tsik

nepal kingdom-GEN silver come-ground-GEN trail be.pleased-SUP INDF
nepal lunp-e la-ron khajet bet. (TE87)
nepal country-GEN mountain-hill plural COP
'The mountains of Nepal are a very good way to bring money to Nepal.'
Speaker tells how Nepal earns a lot of money from trekkers and mountaineers.
Table 7.2 Summary of derivational suffixes that produce adjectives from verbs and nouns

| Original word class | Original word class | Derivational suffix | Morpheme gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| N | V | -pu | ADJVZR homophone of M1 |
| N | V | -pokma | ADJVZR |
|  | V | -pøtma | ADJVZR |
| N |  | -puwa | ADJVZR |
| N |  | -netmu, -etmu | ADJVZR |
|  | V | -ntikma | ADJVZR |
|  | V | -ntija | ADJVZR |
|  | V | -tsetma | ADJVZR |
|  | V | -ntipma | ADJVZR |
| N | V | -mu | ADJVZR homophone of F1 |
| N | V | -løt | ADJVZR |
| N | V | -si | INTNS, intensifier |
|  | V | -60 | SUP, superlative |
|  | V | -tu | COMP1, comparative process |
| N | V | -paa, -jaa, -aa, -a | COMP2, comparative state |
| N | V | -tre | ADJVZR, in negated clauses |

The following derivational suffixes from table 7.2 are also inflectional:
-si
-60
-tu
-paa

### 7.6 Antonyms formed with negative prefixes

Lhomi has antonym pairs such as good--bad and poor--rich but often the language uses the negative prefix mat- to form an antonym. The negative prefix mit- is never used for marking an antonym. The following examples illustrate some pairs of antonyms:

### 7.64 'tshuka toik-ni 't6hu cim-paa than <br> water.place INDF-ABL <br> mat-sim-paa <br> water attach.to-COMP2 and <br> 'mit-thør-ken bet. <br> NEG-attach.to-COMP2 NEG-come.out-NMLZ;CONJ AUX

'Tasty water and not tasty water do not come out from the same water place.'
When an adjective is negated in this way it makes the reference more generic.
Lhomi is a language which has a lot of specifics but not so many generic nouns and adjectives. This is a way not to specify the exact meaning of the antonym.

### 7.65 y-e tam hi-la 'khit khanta-la

1SG-GEN message this-DAT 2PL what-DAT
mat-ga-a
lay-kuk=ka?
NEG-be.pleased-COMP2 feel-PROG;VIS=Q
'Why do you feel not happy about this message of mine?'
The antonym of good (ga-a) in this example is mat-gaa. The negated adjective is predicate complement here.

### 7.66 'aku 'tshirij-ki roo-ray-ki phitsa tsuy-aa di-le

uncle 'tshiring-ERG 3SG-self-GEN child small-COMP2 DEF-COMP.BASIS
'tchi-jaa di-la 'mat-tsii-paa tchik-kuk.
great-COMP2 DEF-DAT NEG-love-COMP2 do;vbzr-PROG;VIS
'Uncle Chiring shows more dislike to his elder child than to his younger one.'
In other words the father loves more his younger child. Yet it is perfectly natural to say it the way this illustration has it.

### 7.7 Adjective as a complement of a noun or an indefinite pronoun

Typically an adjective follows a noun or a pronoun which it modifies. However it may also occur preceding a noun or an indefinite pronoun and then it is marked in genitive case. The following examples illustrate this:

| 7.67 | u-p-e | 'mat-tsan-aa-ki |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |$\quad$| than |
| :--- |
| that-PL2-ERG |$\quad$ NEG-spike-COMP2-GEN $\quad$ everything

COMP2 is a derivational operator which produces an adjective from a noun or a verb.

### 7.68 ga-a-ki tam '6øk-kuk.

be.pleased-COMP2-GEN message speak-PROG;VIS
'(He) is speaking a good message.'

### 7.8 Predicate adjective marked by -tce in negated clauses

This derivational suffix marks the adjective only when a negated existential verb or a negated copula follows. The following examples illustrate this:

| 7.69 | 'sajipni-ki $\quad$ u-ko | ga-t6e |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |

'Memsahib said to me: "It is no good, it is not nice."
The adjectives are predicate adjectives of the negated existential verb. The quoted clause is equative.

| 7.70 | ja-la | 'sim | kip-t.te | mip-pa |  | chun. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1SG-D | mind | happine | NEG.EX |  | becom |
|  | '/ got v | unh | appy in my | inner b |  | ha |

### 7.9 A predicate adjective in a relative clause <br> 7.71 than-t6e mip-p-e 'thim-pøn <br> cool.off-ADJVZR NEG.EXIST-NMLZ;Q-GEN law-official <br> 'Judge who is not honest.'

### 7.72 u-ko 'sim tsanma tsem-m-e mi bet. <br> that-head mind clean with-F2-GEN man COP

'He is a man who has morally pure mind.'
The whole relative clause is the predicate nominal of the copula bet. This is a special type of relative clause, see more on relative clauses in section 16.1.

### 7.10 Summary of Lhomi adjectives

Though there may be none or very few prototypical adjectives in Lhomi I posit adjectives as a separate class of words different from nouns for the following reasons:
-Unlike nouns adjectives have comparative and superlative forms.
-Unlike nouns an adjective cannot be the lexical head of a NP. The noun head may be missing but it is still implicitly understood (ellipsis).
-Adjectives modify the nouns or NPs.
-Unlike nouns adjectives can be intensified, -si INTNS.
-Unlike nouns, adjectives cannot fill any semantic role of a clause.
Adjectives may have an adverbial kind of function modifying a verb. It is still the same adjective as before. There is no morphological change. Consider the following examples:

```
7.73 dzok-si '60k.
    sprout-INTNS come[IMP]
    'Come here quickly!'
```

that-GEN story DEF do.business-ADJVZR spread-COMPL-PRF.VIS
'That story has spread out fast.'
Here the adjective is the predicate complement.
The next example illustrates how two or more adjectives which modify a NP are conjoined without any conjunctions:

| 7.75 u-ki mi u-ko [sy ripmu | 'phuntija] duk. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| that-GEN man that-head body tall | fat | EXIST.VIS |

'That man is tall and fat.'
The NP with two conjoined adjectives and the noun head is the predicate nominal of the finite verb.

Next three formulas summarize all that I have been talking in this chapter.
-The first formula illustrates the adjective following a noun head which it modifies.
-The second formula shows the adjective as the complement of a noun or a pronoun when it precedes the head.
-In the third one the adjective is a predicate adjective.
N ADJ (ADJ) (QUANT) (DET) (CASE)
(NEG-) ADJ -GEN N/PRON (QUANT) (DET) (CASE)
ADJ V

## 8. Adverbs

Givon says: "Of the four major word-classes, adverb is the least homogenous, semantically, morphologically and syntactically;" (Givón, Talmy. 2001. Syntax, An introduction, Vol. I. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins:87).

### 8.1 Adverbs of manner

| hi-ntuk | 'in this way, this way, this manner' |
| :--- | :--- |
| u-ntuk | 'in that way, that way, that manner' |
| nuk=ran $\quad$ 'without reason, just like that' |  |
| hi-ntukma | 'this kind of, this type of' |
| u-ntukma 'that kind of, that type of' |  |
| kha-ntukma 'what kind, what manner' |  |
| kha-ntuk tshi-pa 'what kind of, what manner' |  |
| 'Ihø | 'easily, slowly' |
| khalyla/khalula 'slowly, cautiously' |  |

Typically the manner adverbs are supposed to modify verbs, (Givón, Talmy. 2001. Syntax, An introduction, Vol. I. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins:88). Lhomi does not have all that many manner adverbs. When the derivational manner suffix ntuk (ADVZR) is attached to proximal and distal demonstaratives we get two adverbs of manner. These two adverbs collocate only with four verbs that are: copular hin 'to be', tshun 'to become, to happen', sir 'to say' and trhi 'to do;vbzr'.

### 8.1.1 Manner adverbs modifying the following verb

Consider the following examples:

8.1 | 'khon-tso | kha-ntukma | bek=ka? |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | $3 S G[H O N]-g r o u p$ | what-ADVZR |

'What kind of (a man) is he?' Or: 'What manner of (a man) is he?'
This is a question and the manner adverb modifies the copular verb.
8.2 u-ki luk di-ki 'phir-son 'nø-pa 'tchar-ni
that-GEN sheep DEF-ERG jump-PST.VIS think-NMLZ;Q arise-NFNT2
u-ki tin-la nuk=ran 'phir do-ken bet
that-GEN after-DAT like.that=FOC jump go-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
ma di=raj. (TE30)
CONTR1 DEF=FOC
'It figures that the other sheep jumped, therefore it follows it jumping without thinking.'
Lit.... jumps just like that.'
This is from a story that tells about raising sheep. Sheep is so stupid that it follows the one which goes ahead and jumps into ravine.

| 8.3 | u-ni | hi-ntuk | tohun-a |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |$\quad$ bet.

8.4 hi-ni 'tehøtnø di-ki 'neppa di-ki lakpa-ni suy-na this-ABL rel.practitioner DEF-ERG sick.man DEF-GEN hand-ABL take.hold-NFNT1
hi-ntuk sin-na 'クø6-6i '6øk-ken bet. (TE49)
this-ADVZR say-NFNT1 truly-know speak-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Then the rel.healer takes hold of the sick man's hand and foretells saying in this way.'

Speaker is describing how a village healer treats his patient. The underlined part is a typical manner clause that has cataphoric reference to a quotation which follows.

## 8.5 u-ntuk hin-na <br> that-ADVZR COP.EXP-NFNT1

ran 'tchøttsen khajet 'khur-la dzuk. (TE18)
2SG rel.things plural carry-DAT go[IMP]
'If it is that way, take all rel.things with you and get out! Or: In that case...
Underlined part is the manner adverb that modifies the copula.

| 8.6 | hi-ni | tin-laa | khalyla roo-ran |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | ---: |
| this-ABL | after-ADVZR | slowly 3 3GG-self |  |
|  | thak | do-ken | bet. (TE49) |

be.healed go-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Then afterwards he himself slowly becomes healed.'

### 8.1.2 Expressive manner adverbs

Lhomi has some manner adverbs that express the manner of how the verbal action or event was brought about or what the results were. The use of these adverbs which often come in pairs is very specific and each collocates only with few verbs. Sunwar notably (oral communication from Marlene Schulze) has a lot of them but Lhomi does not have all that many. Grammatically these expressives are part of the VP. I have used EXPR as a grammatical tag for all of them. Here is a list of some of these expressives with a verb which it modifies:
pitsik pitsik duŋ, 'to beat down on ground like a hail storm does'
buruk koruk took, 'to chop off completely like trees in a storm'
tshuk tshuk trhit, 'to show hesitance or inability to decide'
toop 'hek, 'to burn something completely'
'hop 'nø, 'to think quickly without reasoning'
khop dii, 'to fall accidentally down flat on ground'

```
8.7 tøntok 'yotsi kotsi khajet pitsik pitcik duy
harvest green vegetable plural down down beat[PST]
doypu khajet buruk koruk teak tchi tan-a pet.
tree plural totally chop[PST] do;vbzr IMMED-NMLZ;Q AUX
(It) beat completely down to the ground all grain and vegetables, (it) chopped up all trees.'
This is what a storm did to vegetables and trees.
```

| 8.8 | 'khit-ran 'hop | 'nø-p-e 'thim | 'mat-t6øt. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 2PL-self EXPR | think-NMLZ;Q-GEN law | NEG-cut[IMP] |
|  | 'Do not judge without thinking! |  |  |
| pass judgement of quick thinking!' |  |  |  |

8.1.3 Manner clauses modifying the finite verb
8.9 jay hi-ntuk tohi-na lajkak-la dit-na keri

CONTR2 this-ADVZR do;vbzr-NFNT1 trail-DAT chase-NFNT1 leader.sheep
mit-na '6yli mit-do-ken bet. (TE30)
NEG.EXIST-NFNT1 at.all NEG-go-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Actually if the shepherd leads his sheep on trail in this way and he has no leader sheep, (the fold) will not move at all.' Lit....in this way doing....

Speaker tells about the work of a sheep shepherd. The underlined part is a manner clause.
8.10 u-ntuk tshi-na mentaa
that-ADVZR do;vbzr-NFNT1 only
luk 'so 'mit-tshuu-ken bet. (TE30)
sheep raise NEG-be.able-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Unless (the shepherd) does it in that way, he will not be able to raise the sheep.' Underlined part is the manner clause.
8.11 ја 'Ihø tohi-na juŋ-en.

1SG easily do;vbzr-NFNT1 come-1PST
'I came walking slowly.
Underlined part signals the manner of walking, slowly without any hurry.

### 8.1.4 Nominalized manner clauses as complements of a noun or NP

The following examples illustate this:

### 8.12 u-ntuk tohi-p-e 'miite-la <br> that-ADVZR do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q-GEN example-DAT <br> ta-tse mit-juŋ-ken bet. <br> look.at-SBJV NEG-come-NMLZ;CONJ AUX

'We should not follow the example of doing that way.' Or 'We should not follow that kind of example.'

Nominalized manner clause is the complement of the noun 'miite.

### 8.13 'pinjaa kurik-ki kha-ntuk twhi-p-e tin <br> relative all-ERG what-ADVZR do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q-GEN dedicated.thing <br> than 'єaapa gø-kuk=kak sik-ken bet. (TE49) <br> and apology.offering need.to-PROG;VIS=Q say-NMLZ;CONJ AUX

'Then all the relatives say: "What kind of a dedicated thing and apology offering is needed?" 'Lit. ‘...dedicated thing and apology offering of what kind...'

Speaker is describing the ways of shamanistic healers in the village. The underlined NP is a nominalized manner clause which is the complement of the head NP tin than 'вaapa.

### 8.1.5 More generic manner adverbs

sunt6on 'right away, directly, non-stop'
lamsan 'non-stop, without stopping'
The following examples illustrate these:
8.14 ni u-ko ka tsik lam suu-na tap-son-na
that-head order one path enter-NFNT1 go.away-PST.VIS-NFNT1
sunt6on tap do-ken bet. (TE32)
directly go.away go-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'If it gets going and has left, it walks away non-stop.' Or: Once it has left it goes nonstop.'

Speaker tells about yaks and how they may leave the fold and run away. Underlined part modifies the finite verb, walking away without stopping. Note that the non-final conditional clause is marked for past tense but the finite clause is nonpast. The explanation is that the state described in the finite clause is true only if the event of the conditional clause has materialized.


### 8.2 Adverbs of time

Adverbs of time characterize entire events. In this section I have followed closely what David Watters describes about Kham adverbs. (Watters David E. 2002. A Grammar of Kham. Cambridge University Press:144). Time adverbs of Lhomi can also be divided into two sets, those that refer to specific time and those that refer to relative time, e.g. recently, few weeks ago etc.

### 8.2.1 Specific time

The following adverbs do not typically combine with any case markers (except genitive) and they refer to specific time:
DAYS:
harin 'today'
dan 'yesterday'
'khennup ‘day before yesterday’
'phaanup 'two days before yesterday'
nempet 'tomorrow'
'naan 'day after tomorrow'
sii 'two days after tomorrow, three days hence'
gr 'three days after tomorrow, four days hence'
t6Y 'four days after tomorrow, five days hence'
'my 'five days after tomorrow, six days hence'
Obviously the term sii comes from the numeral 'four' $\boldsymbol{\boldsymbol { i }}$. I have not been able to figure out what the etymologies of the other adverbs in this list are. When Lhomis count the days ahead they include the current day in counting.

## YEARS:

halo 'this year'
nanin 'last year'
sinin 'two years ago, year before last'

| gunin | 'three years ago, two years before last' |
| :--- | :--- |
| 'sanpøt | 'next year' |
| 'nanpøt | 'year after next' |
| sipøt | 'two years after next' |
| grpøt | 'three years after next' |
| toypøt | 'four years after next' |

Examples which illustate the use of time adverbs of the list above:

```
8.16 'sa\etapøt ha-tsøt \etaa ju\eta-ken.
    next.year now-amount 1SG come-NMLZ;CONJ
    'Next year I will come about this time.'
```

| 8.17 | kettca | khaa-paa | tsik | di | sapp- |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | message | become.tired-COMP2 | one | DEF sangpu-GEN | mother |

nanin ha-tsøt jampu-tu 'вi-na 'khur-a bet. (TE73)
last.year now-amount Kathmandu-LOC die-NFNT1 carry-NMLZ;Q AUX
'As for a piece of bad news, last year at about this time the mother of Sangbu died in Kathmandu.'

## Other adverbs that refer to a specific time:



Some words in the list above are grammatically nouns, NPs and PPs but lexically they can be used as temporal adverbs to refer to a specific time. Consider the next couple of examples:
8.18 u-ni gont6o makpa nø-ki 'ninjaa 'tsheykor
that-ABL late.afternoon son-in-law side-GEN relatives ...
khajet di ...(TE52)
plural DEF
'Then in late afternoon all relatives of the son-in-law...'
They have finished eating together and late afternoon refers to the same day.

```
8.19 trik '\etaetto thay toik gont60 nam 'rø-tsøt-la
    one in.morning and one in.the evening darkness become-amount-DAT
    'set-na puu go-ken bet.
    kill-NFNT1 offer have.to-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
    'You have to slaughter and offer one in the morning and another in the evening at
sunset.
```


### 8.2.2 Relative time

The following time adverbs refer to time relative to 'now':

| nam-la ak | 'ever, never' |
| :---: | :---: |
| nam nam-la ak | 'ever, never' |
| ha | 'now' |
| ha-tsøt | 'now, about this time' |
| hunto/honta/hanta | 'now, at the moment' |
| thinsan | 'at the present time' |
| nempet 'naan | 'in future' |
| 'khattsiy/'hattsin | 'few weeks ago' |
| 'khattsay | 'a few days ago, recently' |
| naniy sinip | 'a few years ago' |
| dzatak | 'suddenly, right away’ |
| '6artcak | 'immediately' |
| '6ari | 'suddenly' |
| tak | 'suddenly, immediately' |
| tok | 'immediately, right away' |
| 'el-laa | 'earlier, before' |
| 'en-suk-la | 'at first' |
| tij-laa | 'afterwards, later' |
| tiy-suk-la | 'last' |
| suk-la | 'finally, in the end' |
| thappuu | 'in the beginning, first' |
| go-maa | 'first, at first' |

Some grammatical postpositions may be used as time adverbs. There is a derivational and inflectional suffix -laa which may be attached to adverbs or postpositions.
The following examples illustrate this:

| 8.20 | na 'el-laa | saar-la do-ken. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| city-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ |  |  |
| 1SG before-ADVZR |  |  |
|  | I go to the city ahead of (others).' |  |

8.21 „а 'en-suk-la saar-la do-ken.

1SG ahead-end-DAT city-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ
'I go first to the city.' Or. 'I will go to the city ahead of all others.'

| 8.22 | hi-ni <br> this-ABL | tin-laa | bhaly-la |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | roo-ran

The next example illustrates how the quantifier thopaa which typically modifies a noun can be used as a time adverb:
8.23 mi 'su na-na $\quad$ ak thopaa toik 'thuk
man who be.sick-NFNT1 INCLN fair.amount INDF untill
gur-na døk-ken
put.up-NFNT1 stay-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Any man who becomes sick stays putting it up for a while.'

| 8.24 | thanpuu | doole tsik | than | khirik | tsik |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | in.beginning | monkey INDF | and | pheasant | INDF |
|  | tho-pu | dzap-a | bet. | (TE16) |  |
|  | b.friend-M1 | vbzr-NMLZ;Q | AUX |  |  |

'Long time ago a monkey and a pheasant performed a ritual of becoming bond friends.'

This is a setting for the whole story and thanpuu refers to a time long ago.
8.25 u-la go-maa phumu di nam t6øt go-ken bet.(TE65)
that-DAT head-ADJVZR girl DEF darkness cut have.to-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'At first one has to investigate the girl.'
Speaker tells about the marriage customs of Lhomis.

### 8.2.3 Aspectual adverbs

Givon talks about aspectual adverbs (Givón, Talmy. 2001. Syntax, An
introduction, Vol. I. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins:91). The semantic scope of these adverbs covers a whole clause, not just a verb. The following adverbs have no particular time anchor:
'tshikan 'regularly, repeatedly'
'tsham 'tsham 'rarely, sometimes, occasionally'
'phuul'phuu-ki 'always, permanently'
dzyntu 'always, continuously'
The following examples illustrate these adverbs:
8.26
$\begin{array}{cl}\text { ni u-ko } & \text { tshikan } \\ \text { that-head } & \text { u-ntuk } \\ \text { regularly } & \text { that-ADVZR }\end{array}$
di=ran
DEF=FOC
'jen go-ken bet. (TE30)
search have.to-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Shepherd has to look for that sheep time and again in exactly the same way.'
The habitual aspect of this clause is communicated by the aspectual adverb 'tshikay.

```
8.27 na-la 'tsham 'tsham le man thaa-ni
    1SG-DAT occasionally work large.amount become-NFNT1
    khaa-si 'tshor-kuk.
    become.tired-INTNS view-PROG;VIS
    'Occasionally the work becomes too much for me and therefore it looks very
difficult.'
```

| 8.28 | 'khit-ran $\frac{\text { dz_rntu }}{}$ 'sim ga-wa |
| :--- | :--- |
| 2PL-self always mind be.happy-NMLZ;Q do;vbzr-IMP2 |  |
|  | 'Be happy in your heart all the time!' |

### 8.3 Adverbs that modify a NP or a whole clause

This sub-class of adverbs modify a NP which is a location. The preceding NP gets the appropriate suffixes (typically dative). Unlike postpositions these adverbs cannot function as a grammatical head of a NP.

The last one on the list mentaa modifies a preceding NP or a manner or a conditional clause. The finite clause which follows is always negated.
te 'up to, till, all the way to' NP-DAT + te
'sak 'up to’
mentaa 'unless, until'
NP-DAT + 'sak
NP-DAT + mentaa,
or non-final manner CL + mentaa
$\begin{array}{lllll}8.29 & \text { Ø-e } & \text { papa jampu-la } & \underline{\text { te }} & \text { 'lit-tuk. } \\ & \text { 1SG-GEN } & \text { father Kathmandu-DAT } & \text { till } & \text { arrive-PRF.VIS }\end{array}$
'My father has come all the way to Kathmandu.' Or: '...as far as to...
The difference between this adverb te and the postposition 'thuk is that the latter, being the grammatical head of a NP, gets the case markings.

| 8.30 | ha dawa 'yii-pa-la |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| now month two-ORD-DAT | mentaa | 'mit-ki-ken | bet. (TE9) |
| neg-grow-NMLZ;CONJ | AUX |  |  |

'It does not grow until in the second month.' Or:'It will only grow in the second month.'
The adverb modifies the preceding NP. The main clause that follows this adverb is always negated.
8.31 u-ntuk thhi-na mentaa luk 'so 'mit-tshuu-ken bet.(TE30) that-ADVZR do;vbzr-NFNT1 unless sheep raise NEG-be.able-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Unless one does that way, one is not able to raise the sheep.'
There is more about mentaa in chapter 9.2.2 and in illustrations 9.34-35.

### 8.4 Reversed conditional and emphatic adverbs

I just mention couple of adverbs here. One marks reversed conditional and the other modifies the preceding verb. There is more about cen and 'tshuwak in chapter 17.4 on sentence relators.
sen 'reversed conditional marker, otherwise, lest'
'tchuwak 'only, merely'
'siitaa 'exclusive only'
The following examples illustrate these adverbs:
8.32 u-ni hassøt luypa-la tuwa non-ken bet.
that-ABL VIP area-DAT food get-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
sen hatsa-raj-ki luypa-la 'tshaa mat-ne-pa-la
otherwise 1PL.INCL-self-GEN area-DAT manure NEG-obtain-NMLZ;Q-DAT
tøntok juŋ-kuk=ka bak 'ni. (TE46)
harvest come-PROG;VIS=Q CFP DM
'It is only then that our area gets food. Or, did you think contrary to fact that we would reap harvest without using manure in our fields?'

### 8.33 tuwa 'siitaa bin.

cooked.rice only give(IMP)
'Give me only cooked rice!'
This entails that there is no gravy or meat with cooked rice or millet. The adverb modifies the preceding NP.
8.34 ni jari 'tchoko thay phumu roo-ray-so '6iitaa
some man and woman 3SG-self-PL1 only
dzom-na hi-ntuk-raŋ døk-ken juŋ-ken bet(TE65)
get.together-NFNT1 this-ADVZR=FOC live-NMLZ;CONJ come-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Some men and women on their own join and start living together.'
This is from a story telling various marriage customs of Lhomis. Two young persons fall in love and they get together without anybody's help, not even parents are involved.
'siitaa modifies the preceding NP.

### 8.5 Epistemic adverbs

"Some adverbs deal with the epistemic reality of events. They answer questions about an event's level of certainty or necessity, and if the event did not occur, they answer questions about the margin of possibility by which it failed to occur." ( Watters David E. 2002. A Grammar of Kham Cambride University Press:146). Lhomi has a highly developed system of evidentiality which is marked in verbs and therefore there are not
many adverbs in this sub-class, see about evidentiality in chapter 13. Consider the following few adverbs:

| 'phittea | 'once again' |
| :--- | :--- |
| jan | 'again, once more' |
| '6yli | 'at all' |

The following example illustrates the last adverb in the list. This adverb modifies only negated VPs:
8.35 u-ki mi u-ko ŋ-e '6yli juu 'mit-6ii-pet. that-GEN man that-head 1SG-ERG at.all face NEG-know-INCH 'I personally do not know that man at all.'
8.36 tohuy-na hi-ko 'phitt6a trik
happen-NFNT1 this-head once.again one
toj-t6e-ma duk sik-ken bet. (TE49)
send;vbzr-SBJV-F2 EXIST.VIS say-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'The shaman says: "If possible you should do this once again." "
The healer is at work and the first attempt to appease the evil god has failed.

### 8.6 Adverbs of intensity

Just like in Kham (same reference as in 8.5) Lhomi also has a small class of adverbs that indicate the levels of intensity for events or for attributes. The first two in the list below are sentential adverbs. They modify an event which has taken place in previous sentence. The following is the list of some such adverbs in Lhomi and examples follow:
tshan 'even more’ (a Nepali loan)
'sumpal'sumpu 'even more so, even better, even worse, even more often'
'クøn 'very, truly'

### 8.37 ' $\mathfrak{n} \boldsymbol{n}$ n thappuu... <br> very beginning <br> 'In the very beginning...'

8.38 mat-thak-pa tshan dze-na jun-a bet.

NEG-become.healed-NMLZ;Q even.more increase-NFNT1 come-NMLZ;Q AUX 'He did not become healed but got even worse.'
Speaker tells about the work of shamans when they try to heal sick people.
8.39 'happak-ki doy 'lok-na
'sumpa
boar-ERG face turn.around-NFNT1 even.more
ki jari 'set ton-ken
bet. (TE50)
dog some kill IMMED-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Even worse, if the boar turnes around it sometimes kills the dog.'

Speaker tells how to hunt wild boars. Hunting dogs are not able to harm the boars but the boar sometimes kills a dog.

## 9. Minor word classes

### 9.1 Clitics

In this section I discuss all kinds of clitics and particles that modify NPs, verbal phrases, clauses and even sentences. Normally they occur at the end of a finite verbal phrase but some of them occur at the beginning of an utterance. And some do occur with the non-finite verbal phrase modifying it.

### 9.1.1 Contrastive focus

Contrastive focus is marked by the enclitic =ran (FOC) which is attached to the syntactic unit it modifies. I have treated it as an enclitic rather than a suffix because it modifies words that belong to a variety of word classes. It also combines with a number of other syntactic markers like verbal suffixes, verb nominalizers etc. It strongly highlights the syntactic unit it is attached to. It never occurs attached to the finite verb but does frequently attach to non-final and final verbs.

The scope of this focus marker does not go beyond the word or the non-final clause (e.g. 9.4) it is attached to. Typically it is the final element of a NP or a verb. The grammatical meaning of this focus marker becomes obvious in the examples that follow (contrastive focus marker is underlined):

Modifying a NP

'I take and bring her forcefully with my strength alone.'
The story has three characters who plan to marry a princess and this one is a strong man who claims that he can do it with his strength alone. He needs nothing else.

Modifying a quantifier:

```
9.2 ha døntøt=ran 'khur-tøuy. (TE3)
now a.lot=FOC carry-PST.EXP
```

'Now they brought really a lot (of liquor).'
The head of the NP is left implicit, only the quantifier is there.

Modifying an adjective:

## 9.3 'sajøn jima 'pii dzak-kin dep-pa bet 'ak-si=ran. (TE8) <br> tremors day two vbzr-NMLZ stay-NMLZ;Q AUX bad-INTNS=FOC

'The tremors continued for two days, very very bad.'
Speaker is reporting about the big earthquake. The adjective stands alone at the end of the finite clause. The adjective modifies the whole event of earthquake. The contrastive focus marker modifies the adjective.

Modifying a non-final conditional clause:

| 9.4 | keri | 'phin-na=ran | ka |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | leader.sheep | go.come[PST]-NFNT1=FOC | CEP |

luk 'jonma matcu khajet di do-ken bet. (TE13)
sheep other flock plural DEF go-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Actually only if the leader sheep goes, the other sheep, the whole flock will go.'
It is the non-final conditional clause that is modified by =ran. The enclitic =ran cooccurs often with the counter-expectation particle ka. This clitic makes the conditional clause here highlighted, only if..., .

## 9.5 hi-ko 'khit-raŋ-ki=ran 'ha khoo-son. <br> this-head 2PL-self-ERG=FOC aud.impact hear-PST.VIS <br> 'You yourselves personally heard this.'

Speaker claims that his hearers had just heard something directly from another speaker, no middle men, no rumour, no messenger.

The following formula shows that the contrastive focus clitic is typically the last element of a NP:
NP (FOC) (QUANT) (DEF) (Case) (FOC)

### 9.1.2 Imparting new information

One of the ways Lhomi marks the new information is to attach the enclitic $=\mathbf{0}$ NEW.INF to the finite verb or its auxiliary. The scope of this clitic is the whole clause therefore I do not treat it as a verbal suffix.

Speaker imparts new information to hearer about an event or state of affairs about which the hearer is either ignorant or has wrong information or has forgotten or has not paid attention to it. Speaker assumes that the hearer does not know and he marks his statement accordingly. The information flow is from speaker to hearer or from writer to reader. I treat this grammatical feature in this section because the grammatical meaning of this enclitic seems to fit better to what the other particles and enlicitics with the finite verb do. This marker combines with the verbs of all types in Lhomi transitivity system, also with negated clauses. Often appropriate gloss in English would be "I inform you/him, or I tell you."

This enclitic signals also that the speaker has just been informed about the state of affairs. The following examples illustrate the use of this enclitic (new information marker is underlined):

## 9.6 ŋ-e tcalak u-ko gam-na jøt=o. <br> 1SG-GEN thing that-head trunk-IN EXIST.EXP=NEW.INF 'l just want to tell you that the thing of mine is in the trunk.'

Speaker is writing to his brother who is in the village. He wants his brother to send him a thing and he informs him where it can be found. He assumes that his brother does not know it or may have forgotten.

## 9.7 'aku thillen hi-tu jampu-na 'lit-t6uŋ=o. <br> uncle Thillen this-LOC Kathmandu-IN arrive-PST.EXP=NEW.INF 'l inform you that uncle Thillen came here, in Kathmandu.'

Speaker is writing a letter to his brother and assumes that his brother cannot possibly know about uncle Thillen's coming to Kathmandu.

## 9.8 u-ki ki-i 'hek joŋ=o. <br> that-GEN dog-ERG bite intend=NEW.INF

'I inform you that the dog is going to bite.'
Speaker knows that the dog bites. He also knows that the hearer is ignorant of it. He warns him.

## 9.9 roo-ki mit-lok si-kuk=0. <br> 3SG-ERG NEG-go.back say-PROG;VIS=NEW.INF <br> ' i inform you that he says: "I do not return home".'

Writer of the letter tells his father, the recipient of the letter that his son is not going to return home. He uses quotative. Writer knows that father's assumtion is that the boy will soon return back home.

### 9.10 ha alin-ki le-ter thup-son=0. (TE9) <br> now corn-GEN work-information end-PST.VIS=NEW.INF <br> 'My information about the work of corn has now finished.'

This is from a story where a farmer tells about different kinds of field work throughout a year. Speaker assumes that the hearer, being a foreigner knows nothing about this particular work.

New information clitic never combines with questions and is always the last morpheme of a finite verb. The following formulas give the options:
(NEG-) V=o
(NEG-) $V(A U X)=0$
(NEG-) V (AUX) (AUX)=0

### 9.1.3 Speaker's embarassment and frustration

Speaker's feeling of embarassment is signalled by the enclitic =pe (SEC, speaker's embarassment clitic). This clitic only attaches to finite verbs. The following morphophonemic changes take place:
-The final /t/ of the inchoative suffix -pet (INCH) in the finite verb is dropped and the finite
 -If the finite VP has an auxiliary bet the final /t/ is dropped and the finite auxiliary becomes be.

I have no observation of this clitic combining with any other finite verbal suffixes or auxiliaries. If the statement refers to something the speaker himself has done then it expresses embarassment and some feeling of remorse on the part of the speaker. He
feels sorry and embarassed for what he has done volitionally or accidentally or left undone. It may also refer to something that someone else has done but the speaker still feels bad about it. It is not an apology to offended party but the speaker expresses his embarassment to a third person or to himself.

If it is the hearer who has done something wrong or neglected to do something then there is an element of mild rebuke with this marker. This enclitic must not be mistaken for another string of verbal suffixes -p-e which occurs in non-finite complement clauses and marks highlighted reason clause. The following examples illustrate the use of SEC in Lhomi (the enclitic is underlined):

```
9.11 kott-e '6et-na 'ak
    3SG-ERG speak-NFNT1 INCLN
    y-e 'ha mit-khoo=ie.
    1SG-ERG aud.impact NEG-hear;understand=SEC
```

    'Even though he explained it to me, I still do not understand, I am embarassed.'
    Speaker expresses his bad feeling to a third person about not having grasped a
    simple message which someone had spoken. Speaker feels sorry for himself.

### 9.12 u-ko roo-ki 'atci hiŋ-køp-pa be. <br> that-head 3SG-GEN e.sister COP-PROG;EXP-NMLZ;Q AUX.SEC <br> 'She was his elder sister, I am embarassed.'

Speaker has ridiculed a girl and then he later learns that she actually had been the sister of his good friend. He expresses his feelings of being sorry and embarassed to a third person.

If the hearer has done something which he should not do or he has neglected to do something which he should have done then the speaker calls for change of mind. His aim is to get the hearer to rectify his fault if possible. There is a degree of frustration also on the side of the speaker.

```
9.13 \eta-e tøt sin-na ak
    1SG-ERG give[IMP] say-NFNT1 INCLN
    raj-ki 'mit-tøp=pe.
    2SG-ERG NEG-give=SEC
    'Though I told you saying: "Give it!", you are not giving it and I am frustrated.'
    Speaker tries to change the attitude of his father who is supposed to have given a
thing to a friend of the speaker.
```

```
9.14 raj-la doo sin-na ak
    2SG-DAT study[IMP] say-NFNT1 INCLN
    mat-doo-pe.
    NEG-study[PST]=SEC
    'Though I told you saying: "Study!" you haven't studied and I am frustrated.'
    Speaker tells this to his son who has failed in an exam. He wishes that the son
```

would change his attitude. Father tries to stir up guilt feelings in the heart of the son in order that he would do better next time.

### 9.1.4 Inclusion marker

Lhomi has no adverb for such English words as "also" or "even". However the language reduplicates the last vowel of the word which ends in vowel and adds a glottal stop (phoneme /k/ or /t/). If a word ends with velar nasal then the last vowel is reduplicated and velar nasal added. Same happens with any other word final consonant.

I use the morpheme gloss INCLN for this. This is to keep it separate from the inclusive pronoun e.g. 1PL.INCL, first person plural inclusive pronoun.

Inclusion INCLN in Lhomi is a morphophonemically conditioned enclitic and its English meaning depends on what kind of syntactic unit it modifies, e.g. 'also, even, ever'. This clitic combines with nouns, NPs, time adverbs, adverbial phrases, question words and non-finite clauses. It never occurs following a finite verb. The following examples illustrate this enclitic (enclitics are underlined):

### 9.15 ŋa ak do-ken. <br> 1SG INCLN go-NMLZ;CONJ

'I also go'
9.16 phitsa khajet et '6i-na 'khur. (TE42)
child plural INCLN die-NFNT1 carry[PST]
'Also all children died.'
In this story speaker reports the troubles of his entire life.

The inclusion marker combines here with a time adverb, uni.
9.18 roo-la thøntak 'tshon 'on dik do-kuk. (TE45)

3SG-DAT activity trading INCLN succeed go-PROG;VIS 'Also his trading activity succeeds.'
9.19 nam-la $\frac{\mathrm{ak}}{\mathrm{mi}}$ 'mit-lis-s-e 'tshumpuk-la
when-DAT INCLN man NEG-come-ground-GEN creek-DAT
be-na sak-pa bet u-ko. (TE28)
hide-NFNT1 put.leave-NMLZ;Q AUX that-head
'He hid it ( the corpse) in the gulley of a creek where men never come.'
9.20 kha-la ak tsi-la 'ak 'je引-ni ha 'photte min-tuk. (TE28)
where-DAT INCLN where INCLN search-NFNT2 now 'photte NEG-EXIST.VIS
'They looked for him everywhere but there was no Photte.'
This is from a story in which a man kills another and then hides the body. The whole underlined construction has become a common idiom meaning 'everywhere'.

| 9.21 | gem-paa-ki | ka-la | tsi-na | ka |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| responsibility-HUM2-GEN | command-DAT | heed-NFNT1 | CEP |  |

'As a matter of fact if you obey the orders of a leader, then regardless of whatever it actually works out.'

The inclusive particle is lexicalised here too and has become a common idiom.
The inclusive particle is also part of the following lexicalized idioms: hin-na ak 'even so, nevertheless', men-na ak 'not even so', kha-la ak 'everywhere', 'su hin-na ak 'whoever', khanta hin-na ak 'whatever the case, regardless of whatever', khanta ak mit, 'I have nothing' and khanta men-na ak 'no matter what'. There is more about these structures in 17.4 on sentence relators.

### 9.1.5 Summoning for hearer's confirmation

The grammatical enclitic =kan SHC is treated under tag questions in section 14.4.5. It marks the tag questions.

### 9.1.6 Emphatic clitic =te

This clitic combines typically with imperative, speaker oriented imperative and hortatives. There are examples in sections 15.5.1.5, 15.5.5 and other parts of this write-up.

### 9.2 Particles

### 9.2.1 Emphatic particle

Simple emphatic particle ta EMPHP may follow just about any kind of syntactic unit. The range of this particle may be a word, phrase, adverbial clause or finite clause. It is less contrastive than the contrastive focus marker =ran which signals more like exclusive contrast. On the other hand ta puts more straight forward emphasis to the unit it modifies. It has less restrictions as to its environment and it is also more frequent in most texts. How this is translated into English varies a lot. Consider the following examples (the particle is underlined):

Modifying a NP or a noun:
$\begin{array}{llll}9.22 & \text { y-e daku } & \text { ta } & \text { 'lis-son. } \\ & \text { 1SG-GEN friend } & \text { EMPHP } & \text { arrive-PST.VIS }\end{array}$
'My friend did come.'
Speaker has seen many going but only one comes back. He reports this to someone else.

'As for me, I am just a grandson who was born to the son of the grandma.
Speaker is writing a letter to his uncles who have neglected to look after their mother.

The sons have greater responsibility towards elderly parents than the grandsons.

```
9.25 'khit-raŋ juu 'mit-tsha-na
2PL-self face NEG-feel.hot-NFNT1
ja ta juu 'mit-tsha-jet. (TE47)
1SG EMPHP face NEG-feel.hot-INCH
'If you are not ashamed, certainly I am not.'
Speaker has less reason to be ashamed.
```

Modifying a time adverb:

```
9.26 thappuu ta papa-ran-ki ta yit
    at.the.beginning EMPHP father-self-ERG EMPHP 1PL.EXCL
    'sep-pa be=kay. (TE41)
    kill-NMLZ;Q AUX=SHC
```

'Long time ago, you father, killed us, didn't you.'
'Long time ago' gets the emphasis because at the time of the current speech act the father is very sick. It was not a real killing but an attempt.

Modifying a subordinate clause:


Writer is comparing the old administrative system and the new one.
Modifying a whole sentence:
9.28 'søn hi-ko tap-na te-toŋ=te
seed this-head sow-NFNT1 look-1PL.HORT=EMPH
ta.
EMPHP
'Let us sow this seed and watch it carefully!'

Speaker has some grain seed and he wants to sow it and find out what the outcome is. The scope of EMPHP is the whole sentence.

### 9.2.2 Counter-expectation particle

The counter-expectancy is marked by the particle ka (CEP, counter-expectation particle). It has been difficult to sort out this particle and the question clitic =pa/kala. Phonologically the question marker has more stress than CEP has.

This particle can be used in a variety of places. The most common place is in the finite clause preceding the development marker 'ni. But it can also occur in non-finite clauses, in adverbial phrases or in noun phrases etc. It cannot combine with questions. Either speaker finds the state of affairs or activity or event contrary to his expectation or assumption or he argues something which is contrary to hearer's expectation/assumption.

CEP is part of the verbal phrase it modifies. The English meaning is normally contrastive or corrective: 'as a matter of fact, in fact or actually'. The following examples will illustrate this (the CEP is underlined):

Modifying a finite clause:
9.29 kittap hi-ko roo-ki pet
book this-head 3SG-GEN COP

| ka | 'ni. |
| :--- | ---: |
| CEP | DM |

'This book is actually his. Or: In fact this book is his.'
This statement is contrary to the assumption of the hearer. Speaker corrects the hearer.

| 9.30 | daku di | saar-la | do-kuk | ka | 'ni. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | friend DEF | city-DAT | go-PROG;VIS | CEP | DM | 'Contrary to what I expected the friend is now going to town.'

Speaker sees him going which is contrary to his prior information and expectation. In this example the particle expresses a degree of surprise too.

| 9.31 | 'Iha-kay-tu | døp-p-e | jay-la | 'khim | di-tu |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| god-house-LOC | stay-NMLZ;Q-GEN time-DAT | house | DEF-LOC |  |  |
|  | 'lama dzaap-r | ki-i | 'muk-pa | di |  |
|  | lama Jyaapu-GEN | dog-ERG | bark-NMLZ;Q | DEF |  |

'ha khoo-tuk ka 'jojma khajek-ki. (TE31)
aud.impact hear-PRF.VIS CEP other plural-ERG
'At the time when people were staying in the village temple other men (who were not in the temple) had actually heard the barking of lama Jyaapu's dog at his house.'

At the time when people and also lama Jyaapu were in the temple thieves had broken into the house of lama Jyaapu and the speaker is reporting that he had discovered later that other people who were not in the temple had actually heard the barking but no one considered it significant. Here everybody's expectation is that no one saw or heard anything when the thieves broke into the house because most people were in the village temple.

Modifying an adverbial clause:
$\begin{array}{llll}9.32 & \text { keri } & \text { 'phin-na=ran } & \text { ka } \\ & \text { leader.sheep } & \text { go.come[PST]-NFNT1=FOC } & \text { CEP }\end{array}$
luk 'jonma matcu khajet di do-ken bet. (TE13)
sheep other flock plural DEF go-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'In fact it is only if the leader sheep goes, that the other sheep, the whole flock will go.'

It is the conditional clause that is contrary to expectation in this example. The particle ka often co-occurs with the contrastive focus marker =ray.

Modifying a time adverb:

| 9.33 | hi-ni | ka | 'khit-ran-ki | hi-ko 'ha | khoo |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| this-ABL | CEP | 2PL-self-ERG | this-head aud.impact hear;understand |  |  |
|  | 'tshuu-ken | bet. (TE56) |  |  |  |
|  | be.able-NMLZ;CONJ | AUX |  |  |  |

'It is actually then that you will be able to understand this.'
This argument follows a straight forward imperative. In other words speaker supports his previous argument with this one. It is the temporal adverb hini which is contrary to hearers' assumption of now.

The following two examples show how CEP combines with an adverb mentaa whose grammatical meaning normally is 'only, unless, except ' (the particle and the adverb are underlined):

### 9.34 roo tin-laa ka 'lit-tuk ka mentaa. <br> 3SG after-ADVZR CEP arrive-PRF.VIS CEP only

'He had actually arrived except that it was later than expected. ' Or: 'He had actually arrived but only later than expected.'

The first occurrence of CEP in this example modifies the temporal adverb tiplaa. The second occurrence modifies the finite verb 'littuk.

```
9.35 \etaа gari tcaa-la 'phin-ni
    1SG bus at-DAT go.come[PST]-NFNT2
    gari min-tuk ka mentaa.
    bus NEG-EXIST.VIS CEP only
```

'I went to the bus station, but the bus wasn't even there.' Or: 'Having gone to the bus station, actually the bus was't even there.'

The speaker had expected that the bus would be at least at the bus station. His intention had been to board the bus.

### 9.2.3 Counterfactual particle

The following is the summary of how the counterfactual particle CFP bak (alternative form is ba ak) works in Lhomi. It typically follows the finite verb. Sometimes in
oral conversation it may replace the auxiliary bet in the verbal phrase. It also occurs at the end of a complement clause. It combines with declarative and interrogative clauses. In declarative clauses it is the speaker's expectancy which is contrary to fact and in interrogative clauses it is the hearer's expectancy. This particle modifies the preceding syntactic unit. The following examples show that this particle is not so straight forward as some other particles (the particle is underlined):

## Modifying a complement clause of the matrix verb 'nø 'to think'.

The complement clause is the object of the matrix clause. The following examples illustrate this (the particle is underlined):

A declarative main clause

| 9.36 | hi-ko <br> this-head | lankak <br> path | him-pa <br> COP.EXP-NMLZ;Q | ba ak <br> CFP |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | | 'nø-tcun. |
| :--- |
| think-PST.EXP |

'I thought contrary to fact that this was a trail.'
Speaker may utter this statement to himself or to someone else. He has thought that the track he chose to walk was a trail but it turns out not to be.Note that the first person subject is marked in the matrix verb.

An interrogative main clause

| 9.37 | hi-ko lankak | him-pa | ba ak | 'nø-t6un=a? |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| this-head path | COP-NMLZ;Q | CFP | think-PST.EXP=Q |  |

'Did you think contrary to fact that this was a foot path?'
This can be either real or rhetorial question. If the hearer honestly thought that it was a trail then this can be considered as a real question and a real answer would follow. Otherwise it would be a rebuke. The track the hearer is walking is not a trail at all but he did not realize it before.

A declarative main clause

| 38 | ran day | jun-køp-pa | ba ak | 'nø-tsuy. think-PST.EXP |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 2SG yeste | come-PROG; |  |  |  |  |
|  | 'I thought that you would come yesterday as usually.' |  |  |  |  |  |

The speaker has had wrong information about the hearer's coming or the hearer has changed his plan. He utters this statement to the person whom he had been expecting to come. This is contrary to a plan or to a habit. See also about habitual aspect in section 14.3.1.

An interrogative main clause

'Did you think that I would come yesterday, as usually?'
This is a real question. The hearer has had either wrong information about speaker's plans or the speaker has changed his mind.

An interrogative main clause which is a reprimand

```
9.40 'khit khajek-ki hi-ko j-e thik-la him-pa ba ak
2PL plural-ERG this-head 1SG-GEN about-DAT COP.EXP-NMLZ;Q CFP
'nø-tcur=a? (TE46)
think-PST.EXP=Q
```

'Did you all think contrary to fact that this is for my own benefit?'
This is a rhetorical question which corrects the hearers' potential misconception of the intentions of the speaker. The village leader is trying to persuade the villagers to obey his orders and contribute money for a certain religious function that would benefit the whole village. He assumes that the villagers might have contrary to fact understanding and he corrects it. In oral conversation the copular verb him-pa is often dropped out and the CFP particle replaces it.

## Modifying a finite verb

In this position the particle ba ak modifies the preceding finite clause which is marked as a question. Particle signals counterfactual, contrary to advice or contrary to established practice.

A rhetorical question

### 9.41 sen hatca-raj-ki luypa-la 't6haa mat-ne-pa-la <br> otherwise 1PL.INCL-self-GEN area-DAT manure NEG-obtain-NMLZ;Q-DAT <br> tøntok juŋ-kuk=ka ba ak 'ni? (TE46) <br> harvest come-PROG;VIS=Q CFP DM

'Do you really expect contrary to fact to see our fields producing a good harvest when you have not received any manure?'

A rhetorical question! Both speaker and hearers know that the fields do not produce anything without manure. Visual progressive (-kuk) signals that the coming poor harvest is already visible.

A rhetorical question

| 9.42 | khulak hi-ko | mat-khøn | sir-kin | sir-kin |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| cloth this-head | NEG-wear[IMP] | say-NMLZ | say-NMLZ |  |

jan khøn-køp=pa ba ak?
CONTR2 wear-PROG;PROG=Q CFP
'While I have been telling you all the time: Do not wear that piece of cloth! Contrary to my words, are you wearing it again?'

Speaker has commanded not to wear a piece of cloth, yet the hearer wears it again contrary to specific command of the speaker. Speaker reprimands him.

## Modifying a finite clause that has a question word

The question words like what, where, why, how and what manner mark the clause as a question. Particle ba ak replaces the auxiliary+question marker, bek=ka. It signals
the dilemma of the speaker, his complete puzzlement or something which is completely off the norm. Primarily he addresses himself with the question but also others who may be present. In the following examples I have underlined the particle and the part of English gloss which it signals:

Interrogative
$\begin{array}{clll}9.43 & \text { ni } \begin{array}{ll}\text { 'jok-pu } & \text { di-ki }\end{array} & \text { roo-ray-ki } & \text { 'sim-la } \\ & \text { service-M1 } & \text { DEF-ERG } & \text { 3SG-self-GEN } \\ & \text { heart-DAT }\end{array}$
ha ja kha-ntuk tohit-tse ba ak.
now 1SG what-ADVZR do;vbzr-SBJV CFP
'The servant thought in his mind: "What in the world should I do now?"'
Speaker has no idea what he should do. He is in dilemma.

Interrogative
9.44 u-ko kha-ntuk tshi-na sø-pa ba ak.
that-head what-ADVZR do;vbzr-NFNT1 make-NMLZ;Q CFP
'How in the world have they made this thing? Or: I have no idea at all how they have made this thing.'

The complexity of a thing goes beyond speaker's comprehension. Speaker has no idea.

## Combining with the existential verb and with a progressive aspect marker

## -køt

When the particle CFP combines with an existential verb jøt or is clitisized to the progressive marker -køt there are some morphophonemic changes. The particle -a ak replaces the question clitic -pa. This is the same counterfactual particle as in preceding examples. Consider the following:

Interrogative
9.45 raj-ki lunpa kha-ntuk tshi-pa jøt=a ak?

2SG-GEN country what-ADVZR do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q EXIST.EXP=CFP INCLN
'I have no idea what your country is like?'
This is a real question addressed to someone but the speaker confesses his total ignorance.

Interrogative
9.46 'ama nam jun-køt=a ak?
mother when come-PROG;EXP=CFP INCLN
'When in the world is the mother coming?'
Speaker is addressing someone else. He has no idea.

Declarative, reply to 9.46
9.47 'mat-6ii nam jun-køt=a.

NEG-learn[PST] when come-PROG;EXP=CFP

## 'I haven't learned, I have no idea when she comes.'

Interrogative
9.48 le nam thup-køt=a ak?
work when finish-PROG;EXP=CFP INCLN
'When is the work ending, I have no idea?'
Declarative, reply to 9.48
9.49 jimmu thup-køt-to.
afternoon finish-PROG;EXP-PROB
'Probably in the afternoon.'

### 9.2.4 Disclaimer or 'hearsay' particle

I refer the reader to chapter 13.2 .7 on evidentiality. Though lo is a particle like any other particles in this section I have treated it with the evidentials where it rightfully belongs to.

### 9.2.5 Mirative particle

Alexandra Aikhenvald argues: "Terms in evidentiality systems with more than four choices typically have no mirative overtones; there are often other ways of expressing such meanings." (Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2004. (reprint Oxford 2009).
Evidentiality.Oxford: Oxford University Press:195.) Lhomi evidentiality system has at least 5 terms, see table 13.23.

In Lhomi speaker's reaction to unexpected information is marked by the particle wa. It implies newly discovered information and is a genuine reaction of surprise to an event or state of affairs by the speaker. Mirativity marker may occur either in the beginning or in the end of a statement. It modifies the whole clause. All finite verbal markers are in the verb and this particle stands alone. wa (occasionally also wak) combines with other particles, e.g. counter-expectation marker. Any tense, aspect or evidentiality markers are allowed in the finite verb. Some Tibeto-Burmese languages mark the mirativity on a finite verb, e.g. Scott DeLancey says this about mirativity:"The term mirativity refers to the linguistic marking of an utterance as conveying information which is new or unexpected to the speaker." (DeLancey, Scott. 2001. The mirative and evidentiality. Journal of Pragmatics $33.3: \mathrm{Pp} 369-70$ ). I return back to this subject later in section 13. on evidentiality. It is this particle wa which primarily marks the mirativity in Lhomi.

The proper English translation typically is 'to my surprise, vow, what a surprise, I just realized' etc. Consider the following examples of wa in various positions (the markers are underlined):

Following a declarative finite clause
9.50 phitsa
child

| le-pøtma | duk | wa. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| work-ADJVZR | EXIST.VIS | MIR |

'Vow, what a beautiful baby!' Or: 'Vow, the baby is beautiful!'

Speaker has not seen the baby before. This is a genuine expression of surprise.

| 9.51 | riki | gatcen | kii-tuk | wa. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | potatoe | much | grow-PRF.VIS | MIR |

'Potatoes have really grown much, vow!'
Genuine surprise! Speaker has been away from the village, returns back and makes this statement. He has not seen the gradual growth but only the current outcome.
9.52 hi-ko thøn 'trhimm-r tam bet wa. (TE54)
this-head meaning great-GEN message COP MIR
'Vow, this is a message of great importance!'
Speaker is someone who has heard the speech and responds in this way with surprise.

## Preceding a declarative clause


'What a surprise, they also have come! Vow, look at them!'
Speaker just sees that they have arrived contrary to his expectation (ka ) and he is surpised. He also asks his friend to look at them.
9.54 wa(k) y-e 'sir-ku tor-son. (TE31)

MIR 1SG-GEN gold-idol get.lost-PST.VIS
'To my amazement, my golden idol is lost.
Speaker is the wife of a lama who had a golden idol which was stolen. The wife shouts this statement to the whole village. At the time of utterance she does not really know what has happened.

Preceding imperatives
In this position wa signals that the speaker wants the hearer to feel the same surprise at unexpected information which he has just experienced.
$9.55 \frac{\mathrm{wa}}{\text { MIR }}$
tø=te
ta
look[IMP]=EMPH EMPHP
'phaa-na.
over.there-IN
'Vow, do look over there!'
Speaker has seen something unexpected which could be an object, an animal, a man or anything and he wants the hearer to see it too.

### 9.56 wa '6ok=te

ta.
MIR come[IMP]=EMPH EMPHP
'Do come here and you will be surprised!'
Speaker is telling the hearer to come and discover something unusual.
wa may be permuted to the end but it still would modify the whole command.

## Preceding questions

The unexpected information is surprising to the speaker, but not to hearers in the next example:

| 9.57 | $\underline{\text { wa }}$ | 'khis-so | 'ok do-køp=pak? |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | MIR | $2 P L-P L 1$ | INCLN go-PROG;EXP=Q |

'What a surpise, are you also going?'
Speaker sees that his friends also are getting ready to go. What he sees is unexpected to him and he requests for confirmation with this genuine question.

### 9.2.6 Determination particle

The particle 'tshe DETERM occurs at the beginning of a statement or an argument. It modifies the whole argument that follows. Speaker signals that he has solved his problem or dilemma or has made up his mind and is determined to argue his point or to act. The following examples illustrate this:

| 9.58 | hi-ni | jan $\quad$ 'onpu tem-ma | di-ki |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | this-ABL | CONTR2 | health with-F2 |$\quad$ DEF-ERG

't6he ŋа 'oŋp-y=ran 'kherak-ki 'thik toj-ken
DETERM 1SG health-INS=FOC force-INS fetch IMMED-NMLZ;CONJ
tohi-pa bet. (TE16)
do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Then the one who was strong said:"Sure I just use my strength and take her forcefully."'
9.59 ni mi jari-ki jan 'trhe 'kho-p-e 'Iha u-ko man some-ERG CONTR2 DETERM 3PL-PL2-GEN god that-head
ga6-60 ta mem-pet. (TE54)
be.happy-SUP EMPHP NEG-COP
'On the other hand some say:"I am convinced that their god certainly is not very good."
9.60 ni gomp-r lempu-la 'twhe gotta-la ta pentok
gombu-ERG response-DAT DETERM 3SG-DAT EMPHP coin
'hek '6or-a tsik 'ik 'mit-tsuk gotta-la tsuk-pa-le
split become-NMLZ;Q one INCLN NEG-plant 3SG-DAT plant-NMLZ;Q-COMP.BASIS
ta boora maa-ni mal-la khokkaa 'khe-paa trik-la
EMPHP rather down.there-ABL there-DAT Nepali skill-COMP2 INDF-DAT
bin-na 'phassa-la tøn toj-ken sik-ken bet. (TE55)
give-NFNT1 anger-DAT reveal IMMED-NMLZ;CONJ say-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
‘Gombu responds saying:"I am determined not to give even a split one pice coin to him.I rather give it to a skilled Nepali man from down south and make my opponent angry."

This is from a text that describes a village court case and failed attempt to reconcile two parties.

### 9.2.7 Speaker's corrective particle

Speaker's corrective particle de ek SCP occurs as the last element of the finite verbal phrase.

Speaker corrects someone's claim or idea about an event, activity or state of affairs with his own superior information. Speaker indicates his superior information also by using evidential markers. Either the hearer has stated his claim or speaker knows it otherwise. Naturally this particle may not occur in questions. The English meaning typically is "I know it better", "as a matter of fact", "the fact is that", "I correct you", "contrary to your wrong claim" or "contrary to your thinking". This particle is not used for the sake of argumentation but about factual knowledge, speaker simply knows it better. The following examples illustrate this (the particle is underlined):

```
9.61 roo hentaa hi-tu 'lit-tgun de ek.
    3SG today this-LOC come-PST.EXP SCP
```

'The fact is that he did come here today.'
Speaker corrects someone's claim that a certain person had not shown up. The hearer has not seen the person and therefore thinks and claims that the third person did not come. The speaker has seen him (direct experience, not just sensory observation) coming and corrects the previous speaker.

| 9.62 | '6i |
| :--- | :--- |
| die[NPST] | meG-rem-pa-la |
| NEGe.to-NMLZ;Q-DAT die-PST.VIS SCP |  |

Speaker corrects the recipients of his letter about the death of his own parents. Speaker assumes that his uncles, the recipients of the letter are thinking contrary to this fact and he corrects them.

| 9.63 | gotta saar-la | 'son | jøt-to. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3SG town-DAT | go[PST] | EXIST-PROB |  |
|  | 'Perhaps he has gone to town.' |  |  |

### 9.64 saar-la 'mat-phim-pa

town-DAT NEG-go.come-NMLZ;Q
ŋ-e 'khim-la 'lit-tяun de ek.
1SG-GEN house-DAT come-PST.EXP SCP
Contrary to your claim he did not go to town but came to my house.
The first speaker expresses his claim first. Then the second speaker corrects it with his more truthful information which is indicated by the direct experience marker -tcun.

### 9.65 万-e 'ha khoo-tcun de ek. <br> 1SG-ERG aud.impact hear;understand-PST.EXP SCP <br> 'Contrary to what you seem to be thinking I did understand it.'

Hearer had earlier expressed his doubt whether the current speaker had really grasped his earlier message. Then the current speaker responds with this corrective claim.
9.66 'su 'uk gottsek-la kaypa mit-dzak-p-e
who INCLN door.way-DAT foot NEG-vbzr-NMLZ;Q-INS
y-e hi-ko ta thii-pen de ek. (TE47)
1SG-ERG this-head EMPHP write-1PST SCP
'None of you is helping the grandma, therefore to correct your attitude I wrote this letter.'

This is from a closing statement of a letter which seeks to convince the uncles to give a helping hand to weak grandma. Writer is in Kathmandu and the uncles are in the village.

### 9.2.8 Speaker's rectifying particle

Unlike the previous particle (de ek) this speaker's rectifying particle 'atta, SRP occurs at the beginning of a speech act (sentence). Speaker refutes the assertion of the hearer or a third person and gives his own superior opinion. He may rectify his own earlier statement too. The following examples illustrate this:
9.67 ran-la mi tsik-ki 'sok si-kuk.

2SG-DAT man INDF-ERG
come[IMP] say-PROG;VIS
'atta mit-sir-et.
SRP NEG-say-INCH
'A man says to you: "Come"! No in fact he doesn't.'
9.68 ni u-la ajekp-e utsi khant-e phits-e dzii-pa bek=ka that-DAT ajekpa-ERG EXPR what-GEN child-GEN beauty-HUM1 COP=Q
tohi-pa bet. ni phits-e lel-la dzii thaa 'ni
say-NMLZ;Q AUX child-ERG response-DAT beautiful become DM
'pha thay ma t6em-m-e phitsa bet tshi-pa bet.
father and mother with-F2-GEN child COP say-NMLZ;Q AUX
ni jay ajekp-e 'atta dzii-na dzii-t6e
CONTR2 ajekpa-ERG SRP be.beautiful-NFNT1 be.beautiful-SBJV
taa-p-e '6y '6y 'yt min-tuk t6hi-pa bet. (TE70)
fulfill-NMLZ;Q-GEN trace trace INCLN NEG-EXIST.VIS say-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Ayekpa said to her:"Where does the beauty of you child come from?" She replied saying:"As for my beauty, I am a child who has father and mother." Then Ayekpa said:"Quite the contrary I do not actually see any trace whatsoever where the beauty has come from."

The debate continues and the smart girl finally outwits Ayekpa.

### 9.2.9 Hearer's agreement particles

If the hearer agrees he uses one of the following particles: lawu, jon, Iasso (honorific). In connection with commands these particles are only used with children. I use the same grammatical tag for all three particles, hearer's agreement particle, HAP. Consider the following examples (particles are underlined):

| 9.69 | n-e pajisak bin jon $\quad$ io=kan? | lasso |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1SG-ERG money give intend EXIST=SHC | HAP[HON] |  |
| 'l'll give you some money, is it okey?' | 'Okey.' |  |
| Or: 'l'll give you some money, okey?' |  |  |


| 9.70 | 'tohu $\quad$ 'khur-let | io=kan? | $\frac{\text { lawu }}{}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :--- | :--- |
|  | water bring-SCI | EXIST=SHC | HAP |
|  | 'Go and bring some water, will you?' | 'I do it.' |  |

In addition to those two particles in 9.69-70 there is one more particle that marks the hearer's agreement to speaker's request. This particle may occur without the summoning for hearer's confirmation particle, SHC. However the speaker does make a request of some kind to the hearer. The next text describes the early history of Lhomis and the story has rather violent turns. The particle is jon. This particle is less frequent than the other two. The hearer finally consents to kill the third person in this story but only after a long episode of speaker making polite requests and promising all kinds of rewards.

```
9.71 was6i kuttci 'set-na tir-ro t6hi su-wa dzap.
    please please kill-NFNT1 give-AID do;vbzr[IMP] request-NMLZ;Q vbzr[PST]
    hi-ni pupu tsyntcu\eta-ki [́O tohi-pa bet. (TE17)
    this-ABL pupu tsyntcung-ERG HAP say-NMLZ;Q AUX
```

'(Mint6ung Ngøruk) begged saying: "Please do kill him". Then Pupu tsynt6ung said: "Okey, l'll do it".

### 9.2.10 Confirmation

I will later talk about summoning for hearer's confirmation SHC clitic, see in section 14.4.5. However in this case the speaker does not really request for a confirmation from the hearer but uses the particle nani CONFIRM to mark his assertion as something which the audience could confirm, it is shared information. Both speaker and hearer(s) could confirm it. It is a pragmatic device to forward the speech act in argumentation. The range is the preceding main clause or the whole sentence that precedes. Therefore when this particle occurs following a finite verbal phrase the meaning in English would be like 'isn't it so, doesn't'? This confirmation marker never combines with the interrogative. The following examples illustrate this (particle is underlined):

```
9.72 ki 'mit-hek-pa jøt.
    dog NEG-bite-NMLZ;Q EXIST.EXP
    'The dog is not a biting one.'
```

    This is a statement of the owner about his dog.
    ```
9.73 ki-i 'hek-kuk nani
    dog-ERG bite-PROG;VIS CONFIRM
    'It does bite, doesn't it.'
    Speaker sees the dog coming at him and he realizes that it is going to bite.
```


'Actually you have appointed the leader for the very purpose that people would obey him, haven't you.'

This is shared information, everybody knows that it is true.

### 9.75 kaypa mi-la 'he-ni

foot fire-DAT burn-NFNT2
'tshik-ken hin-to nani.
become.burned-NMLZ;CONJ AUX-PROB CONFIRM
'When someone puts his foot in fire, it would become burned, wouldn't it?'
Both speaker and the hearer are aware of the fact. This is just a reminder.

### 9.2.11 Speaker's compassionate attitude

The particle 'aa follows the finite clause and conveys the speaker's compassionate attitude SCAP towards the hearer for what has happened or is going to happen to him or to his loved ones.

When this particle combines with a request or a command it softens it quite a bit. A negated imperative with this particle is a compassionate warning to hearer. If something bad has happened to the speaker he may express his pity on himself too. Illustration 9.81 is not fully developed finite clause but an exclamation. The following examples illustrate this compassionate particle (particles are underlined):

```
9.76 le hi-ko tohi 'aa.
work this-head do;vbzr[IMP] SCAP
```

‘Could you please do this work!'
This is a soft and kind request to do something. Straight imperative would be a rude command.

| 9.77 | hi-ntuk | trhi-na | '6øt |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | this-ADVZR | do;vbzr-NFNT1 | tell[IMP] |  |  | AP |

'Could you please speak to him in this way!' If we drop the particle it would be straight forward command with an obligation to carry it out. To use this particle gives the hearer a bit of freedom whether he carries it out or not. This particle has nothing to do with the honorific system of Lhomi.


This is a sympathetic warning to someone. Speaker feels pity toward the hearer and warns him.
$\begin{array}{lllll}9.79 & \text { ha } & \text { ran } & \text { døt } & \text { 'aa. } \\ & \text { now } & 2 \mathrm{SG} & \text { stay[IMP] } & \text { SCAP }\end{array}$
'Stay here! Too bad, I have to go now.'
This is an idiom when a good friend is leaving. For a long time they are not going to see each other, they feel sad. Speaker expresses his pity to his friend and to himself too.

| 9.80 | ya-la | khant-e | duknaa | tan-tsun | 'aa. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 1SG-DAT | what-GEN | pain | send;vbzr-PST.EXP | SCAP |

'What a pain he inflicted on me! Poor me!'
Speaker expresses his pity toward himself because of the pain someone else has inflicted on him.

### 9.81 khant-e dukpa 'aa. <br> what-GEN hardship SCAP

'What a trouble he has! It breaks my heart to see it.'
Speaker conveys his compassion to the victim or his loved ones.

### 9.2.12 Speaker's acceptance or call for acceptance

Speaker's call to accept 'ja(k) SAP signals to the hearer that the speaker wants him to accept and receive what he is offering. It may be a thing, an animal, a piece of property, money or anything. This particle always occurs at the beginning of the utterance. Speaker and hearer are close to each other at the time of the utterance. If the speaker is going to hand over a thing, the particle signals to hearer to stretch out his hands right away.

If the speaker is asking the hearer to do something for him then the particle signals a request to accept it. If he makes a statement he may refer to himself and to others around to accept it.The English translation is typically 'here you are', 'I hand this over to you', 'do accept it', 'I accept this' Consider the following examples (the particle is underlined):

9.82 | 'ja | hi-tsøt | tcik | 'khur-la | dzuk. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | SAP | this-amount | INDF | carry-DAT |
|  | go[IMP] |  |  |  |

'Here you are, take this much and go!'
Speaker gives a loan to the hearer but not as much as he had requested.

### 9.83 'ia(k) 'tchøma tsik. <br> SAP gift INDF

'Here you are, a gift for you.'
Speaker is handing over his gift and tells the hearer to receive it. There is no verb!

```
9.84 'ja tuwa sa=tu '60k.
    SAP food eat=PURP come[IMP]
```

'Come to eat, accept my offer!'
Speaker is dishing out food and the hearer is standing nearby. This is not a very polite way to ask someone to eat.

| 9.85 | ha na ray-la 'ia | ray-ki da di. (TE17) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| now RSPNS | 2SG-DAT SAP | 2SG-GEN enemy DEF |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |

Speaker is handing over to his hearer the head of the addressee's enemy whom he had murdered upon the request of the hearer.

### 9.86 'ja hi-ko dakpu t6hi=te. <br> SAP this-head owner do;vbzr[IMP]=EMPH

'Here you are, take and possess this!'
Speaker is handing over a piece of property.

```
9.87 'ja 'mikma su\etamara u-ko 'set-na tir-ro
    SAP 'mikma sungmara that-head kill-NFNT1 give-AID
    tchi wac6i kuttci. (TE17)
    do;vbzr[IMP] please
    'Please do accept to kill that Mikma cungmara for me!'
```

    Speaker is asking someone to murder his enemy. He uses benefactive/malefactive
    and polite imperative but also this particle 'ja which addresses the hearer with the idea to
accept his request.

### 9.88 'iak harin ŋa '6i-ken pet. <br> SAP today 1 SG die-NMLZ;CONJ AUX <br> 'I have accepted that I will die today.'

A sick person has yielded to the idea that he is going to die. He is so sick that he has lost his hope for surviving.

| 9.89 | 'ja(k) | na do gø | 'єar-son | 'aa. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | SAP | 1SG go need.to | become-PST.VIS | SCAP |

'I accept that I have to leave but it breaks my heart.'
Speaker is submitting to the idea that he has to die. No more hope is left to survive and he also expresses his emotional pain to depart from the loved ones with 'aa.

### 9.2.13 Speaker's call for attention

Speaker uses the particle 'we SCA in oral communication to call for the attention of the hearer to what he is going to say. Normally there is also considerable physical distance involved. In a hilly country the human voice carries far. Lhomis say that the longer the distance is to the hearer the longer is the vowel of this particle. This particle may be used only among equals or family members. It would never combine with honorific address terms.

The particle begins the utterance. It may occasionally occur at the end of the utterance but its grammatical meaning is still the same, calling for attention. The English meaning for this particle typically is: 'Oh', 'pay attention', 'hi there', 'hello', or 'listen to me'.

### 9.90 'we 'aku ajekpa ŋa-la 'antam t6ik '6øt-let=te tohi-pa bet. (TE67)

SCA uncle ajekpa 1SG-DAT story INDF tell-SCI=EMPH say-NMLZ;Q AUX
'"Oh/Hi uncle Ayekpa, do tell me a story of cheating", he said'
Someone meets on trail this strange character who cheats everybody. The person calls right away his attention and wants to hear a story from him.

### 9.91 u-ni u-la 'we dzutta mat-khøm-pa <br> that-ABL that-DAT SCA shoes NEG-wear-NMLZ;Q <br> 'mø 'møk-kuk na wa ... (TE67) <br> ploughing plough-PROG;VIS RSPNS MIR <br> 'Then he said: "Hello there, to my surprise I see you ploughing without wearing

 shoes."Ayekpa is shouting to a man who is ploughing. He simply calls his attention to what he is going to say. In fact he sets a trap for the hearer by this statement.

### 9.92 'we 'phaa-na sijka-la pha suu-tuk wa.

SCA there-IN field-DAT cow enter-PRF.VIS MIR
'Attention everybody, a cow has gone to the field over there.'
Speaker has seen a cow eating grain in a field and he calls for attention of every villager. Someone needs to chase it away. Speaker does not address his call to anybody particularly but to everybody.
9.93 'we 'tohøt-tøan-ki si-na 'khur-tuk. (TE4)

SCA drink[HON]-beer-INS become.drunk-NFNT1 carry-PRF.VIS 'Hi everybody, some have become already drunk from beer.'
Speaker, the host of a party calls for everybody's attention to the fact that some men in the party are drunk. The purpose of this statement may be to hint that the guests should not drink a lot anymore. Note that he uses an honorific word for 'beer'.
9.94 lawu 'we 'sera dzap-ni 'nankan-ki jin di bet. (TE8)
HAP SCA earth.quake vbzr-NFNT2 new.moon-GEN day DEF COP
'Listen all to my story, when the earthquake took place it was the new moon day.'

Speaker starts his report of the great earthquake and calls for the attention of all those who are listening.

### 9.2.14 Speaker's emphatic call for attention

The particle tete SECA is used to draw hearer's careful attention to what the speaker is going to communicate. Unlike the previous attention particle this may be used also in written communication. The other difference is that tete is more proximate than 'we. tete is never used when one has to shout to someone. English gloss for this particle is: "Note carefully", "notice", "note", "pay close attention to". tete marks the syntactic unit which follows it and demands the whole attention of the hearer to the contents of the utterance. The following examples illustrate this (the particle is underlined):

```
9.95 '6i-na 'khur-a di-ki mig di tøn-na
    die-NFNT1 carry-NMLZ;Q DEF-GEN name DEF reveal-NFNT1
    'aku-ra\eta tete \eta-e 'trhø 'sep-pa
    uncle-self SECA 1SG-ERG religion speak-NMLZ;Q
    than lam tøm-pa-la nen. (TE51)
```

    and path show-NMLZ;Q-DAT listen[IMP]
    'He reveals the name of the dead one and speaks to him saying: "Uncle, note
    carefully and listen to my recitation and instructions about the path!" '

Speaker is a lama who instructs the soul of a dead person to find his way in the after world.

### 9.96 sa-ma hi-ko so-tsit 'thuy-tsit.

eat-F2 this-head eat-IMP2 drink-IMP2
hi-ni tete raj-ki 'ama papa-la 'sim 't6haa-pa
this-ABL SECA 2SG-GEN mother father-DAT mind attach-NMLZ;Q
mat-tshi-tcit. (TE49)
NEG-do;vbzr-IMP2
'Eat and drink this food. Then note this particularly, do not attach your soul to your parents!'

Speaker is a lama who instructs the soul of a dead man. Food is offered for the dead to eat but what follows is even more important. He is not supposed to come back haunting his family. Therefore that command is marked with this particle tete.

| 9.97 | tete | hatca-ray-le | mi | 'jonma |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | SECA | 1PL.INCL-self-COMP.BASIS | man other |  |
| duk-paa | jøk-ken | bet. | (TE49) |  |
|  | feel.pain-COMP2 EXIST-NMLZ;CONJ AUX |  |  |  |

'Notice, there are other men, more destitute than us.'
Speaker is condoling a mourning family whose father has died. This is part of a longer speech.

### 9.2.15 Speaker's response or call for response

The particle na RSPNS has all kinds of grammatical functions in Lhomi. There is more about it in sections 14.4.2-3 and 9.3 on alternative questions and conjunctions.

In this section I illustrate its use in finite declarative clauses. Speaker is calling for hearer's response to something he has stated. It signals a request to explain it or to respond somehow. Speaker may direct this implicit request to himself in order to solve his own puzzlement. The sense varies a lot, 'tell me why', 'will you explain', 'I do not understand' and 'I am puzzled' to mention just few. The following examples illustrate this kind of use of the particle na (particle is undelined):

### 9.98 hi-na duk na. <br> this-IN EXIST.VIS RSPNS

'What is the explanation that it was here?' Or: 'It is here, how come!'
The speaker has been looking for a thing. Eventually he finds it in a place where it should not be. He cannot explain why it was there, he is putting this request for himself to explain it.

### 9.99 numu di teaa-la 'phin-ni

y.sister DEF at-DAT go.come[PST]-NFNT2

| 'atsi | di-ki | numu | di-la | 'khok-ki | 'tohopu-la |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| e.sister | DEF-ERG | y.sister | DEF-DAT | 2SG-GEN | husband-DAT |

nuk tohi-pa gas-si tohi-kuk na. (TE45)
this.way do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q be.pleased-INTNS do;vbzr-PROG;VIS RSPNS
'Elder sister went to her younger sister and said:"People are treating your husband very well, tell me why."'

Speaker is requesting a response or explanation from her younger sister. The finite clause is in declarative. The younger sister responds and does give the explanation later in the story.

### 9.100 'aku 'tshirin dartsilin-ni 'thøn-kuk na. <br> uncle 'tshiring darjeeling-ABL come.out-PROG;VIS RSPNS

'I bet you uncle Chiring are coming from Darjeeling.'
The speaker meets the uncle on trail and he has a fair idea that uncle is coming from Darjeeling, but he is not sure and he indicates that with this particle. He wants a response that would confirm his hypothesis. If he wanted to use typical second person question it would be:... 'thøŋ-køp=pa 'Are you coming from Darjeeling?'

| 9.101 | hi-ni <br> this-ABL <br> sin-ni | gojak | t6ø-ken na |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | egg | lay-NML | ONJ | RSPNS |
|  |  | 'laya | di-ki | 'thok-la | dze. (TE16) |
|  | say-NFNT | frying.p | n DEF-G | on.top-D | climb[PST] |
|  | 'Then the | monkey s | d: "Now | an egg | and climbed |
| pan.' |  |  |  |  |  |

This is from the story of pheasant and monkey and in this section the stupid monkey burns his buttock on a hot frying pan. The particle is directed for himself, he hesitates but goes ahead. He wants to follow the example of the pheasant who had laid an egg and fried it on the same frying pan.

## Response particle na marking an adverbial clause

The following two examples illustrate how the response particle occurs also in adverbial clauses which have the condition-consequence reading. In such circumstances the response particle na marks speaker's intention to respond to the condition and give the consequence. Next two examples tell about yak.


```
'ha mit-khoo-ken bet
    aud.impact NEG-hear;understand-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
    u-ki mi dakpu di-ki. (TE32)
    that-ERG man owner DEF-ERG
    'If (a yak) dies, I tell you in such a case it takes several months before the owner
realizes it. Lit....even if two or three months have gone the owner does not realize it.'
```

9.103 pap-ni nuk tohi-pa tuku di 'si-na na
take.down-NFNT2 that.way do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q calf DEF die-NFNT1 RSPNS
homa so-ken bet. (TE32)
milk milk-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'(After the owner has) taken them down to the village, if the calf dies, then in that
case they milk the female yak.'

This comes from the same story as the previous one. The response marker indicates that the speaker is going to give an explanation, consequence.

### 9.104 '6i-na na juŋ-et. <br> die-NFNT1 RSPNS come-INCH

'If he dies, it will have no consequences to me. Or: If he dies, in that case it will be okey with me.'

This example is almost like an evil wish. na signals that it is irrelevant to the speaker if the other person dies.

## Particle na at the beginning of a speech act

When the particle na is used in the beginning of a statement it marks the speaker's own response. It is not a reply to a direct question but rather a response to someone who seeks for help or guidance or reconciliation. The English sense is often something like, 'this is my response' or 'as my reply' or 'this is my advice'. Consider the following examples (particle is underlined):
9.105 na
raŋ-la phu-t6un ran-la
phitsa juŋ-køt. (TE32)

RSPNS 2SG-DAT son-small 2SG-DAT child come-PROG;EXP
'This is my response, you will get a son.'
Speaker is a lama who gives this foretelling to a villager who has come to seek his help for his acute problem of not having a son. The discussion has been going on for a while and this is the final response of the lama. There is more about the progressive aspect in 14.3.2.
9.106 na ja gu-w-e tin thał '6aapa

RSPNS 1SG be.pleased-NMLZ;Q-GEN dedicated.item and compensation
'khur-let sik-ken bet. (TE49)
bring-SCI say-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'(The offended god says): "This is my response, bring me an item dedicated to me and a compensation offering!"'

Shaman has been asking what the god ('lha) wants in order to release the victim, a sick person from its hands. And this is its response.

### 9.2.16 Contrastive particle

The particle ma or ma di CONTR1 may modify just about any syntactic unit. It either precedes or follows the unit it modifies. It often combines with contrastive focus enclitic =raŋ and that further highlights the contrastive function of this particle. When it modifies a main VP it makes the clause contrastive in relation to the preceding clause or sentence. English contrastive conjunctions like 'in fact, 'actually', 'as a matter of fact', 'however', 'instead, 'rather', 'but', 'even', 'on the other hand', 'at the same time', 'at least, 'on the contrary' are appropriate translations for ma di. There are also other ways to mark the contrastive inter-clause relations, see the section 17.4 on sentence relators. In the following examples I have underlined the particle and the preceding syntactic unit it modifies.

| 9.107 | 'onpu tsem-ma di-ki | 'ni diwti khajet-la dun. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| health with-F2 | DEF-ERG | DM guard plural-DAT beat[PST] |
| thopaa tok duu-na | pur-ni |  |

a.while EXPR pick.up-NFNT1 throw.away-NFNT2
ma thopaa 'ala 'tsha-jet. (TE21)
CONTR1 a.while still be.able-INCH
'The strong one beat up all the guards, for a while he just picked them up and threw out of the way and in fact he was just about able to do it for a while.'
9.108 u-ki luk di-ki 'phir-son 'nø-pa 'trhar-ni u-ki that-GEN sheep DEF-ERG jump-PST.VIS think-NMLZ;Q arise-NFNT2 that-GEN tin-la nuk=ran 'phir do-ken bet
after-DAT that.way=FOC jump go-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
ma di=ran. (TE30)
CONTR1 DEF=FOC

A sheep thinks that the one ahead (in line) jumped and therefore they all jump in fact the same way.'

In this example the first sheep in line jumps into a ravine and others follow its example and they all die.

### 9.109 u-ko dzimpa laata di-la gak duy-ni 'ni <br> that-head dzimpa laata DEF-DAT much beat-NFNT2 DM

tshetne di ma di=ran 'クompu-latan tan-a bet. (TE31)
face DEF CONTR1 DEF=FOC blue-DAT send;vbzr IMMED-NMLZ;Q AUX
'They beat up Dzimba Laata very badly, and made his face actually blue.
9.110 ma di dz-ø papa di 'jak di=raŋ bet.

CONTR1 dzo-GEN father DEF yak DEF=FOC COP
dz-ø 'ama di pha bet. (TE32)
crossbreed-GEN mother DEF cow COP
'On the one hand the father of dzo is a yak. And on the other hand the mother is a bovine cow.

In this example the particle starts a sentence and marks the contrastive relation across the sentences.
9.111 di-mu di di-mu di gac-60 $\quad$ bet.
yak-F1 DEF yak-F1 DEF be.glad-SUP COP

| 'khun di | $\underline{\text { ta }}$ | $\underline{\text { ma }}$ | $\underline{\text { di }}$ | di-mu | di | ga6-60 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| true <br> jun-ken <br> come-NMLZ;CONJ | EMPHP <br> bet. | (TE32) |  |  |  |  |

'Female yak is the best one. In fact truly the female yak is the best.'
In this last example the speaker gives his evaluation after he has told a lot about various crossbreeds of yak and cow.

### 9.3 Coordination conjunctions

There are two coordination markers that I want to mention here, than 'and' and na 'or'. Lhomi uses several different ways to mark the coordination at higher levels of syntax. I deal with that later in chapter 17 on clause combining and sentence.

The following examples illustrate how the coordinating conjunction thay joins two or more NPs, personal pronouns, adjectives and nominalized VPs. The last example illustrates coordinated finite clauses joined with the conjunction than (the conjunction is underlined). Square brackets mark the syntactic unit under discussion.

## Conjoining NPs in generic--specific enumeration without conjunction

9.112 'aku 'tshirin-ki luyp-e mi 'tohoko phumu phitsa kurik-ki uncle 'tshiring-GEN country-GEN man male woman child all-ERG
phøk-ket '6ii-ken bet.
Tibet-language know-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Male, female and children, all men of uncle Chiring's area/country know Tibetan language.'

There is no conjunction in this one and the generic noun mi is the head noun whose details are given. The structure of the subject NP of the clause is as follows: NP-GEN N(generic) N(detail) N(detail) N(detail) QUANT-ERG

## Coordination conjunction thang joining NPs

### 9.113 baapu di-pa-la kettea toy. <br> coordinator DEF-PL2-DAT message send;vbzr[IMP]

[ 'aku gompu than gem-pu karma] bet. (TE6)
uncle gompu and responsibility-M1 karma COP
'Send a message to the coordinators! They are uncle Gompu and the village headman Karma.

This is from a story that tells how to build a house. This is one of the commands the leader of the project gives to those who are helping in the house building.

### 9.114 thaypuu [doole tsik thay khirik tsik] thopu dzap-a bet. (TE16)

long.ago monkey INDF and pheasant INDF b.friend vbzr-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Long time ago a monkey and a pheasant formed a bond friendship.'
It is the monkey which is later more important in this story. However at this stage of the narrative they are co-agents in establishing mutual friendship.
9.115 hi-ni hassøt u-ni mal-la [da than su than]
this-ABL VIP that-ABL down-DAT arrow and bow and
'khur-na 'phim-pa bet. (TE17)
carry-NFNT1 go.come[PST]-NMLZ;Q AUX
'After that they went down the trail each carrying an arrow and a bow.'
Lhomi adds one more conjunction than at the end of a string of NPs. It looks redundant but it seems to tell the hearer that the whole string of nouns is the object of the following verb 'khur. Good speakers of the language have told me that this is the proper way to use the conjunction thay. Some educated native speakers drop the extra than at the end of enumeration or use it the same way as English does, only between last two items.

Coordination conjunction thang joining coordinate non-final adverbial clauses

```
9.116 ha [do 'cak=tu than do byn=tu thay]
    now stone split=PURP and stone shuttle=PURP and
    kytcan lop-let. (TE4)
    workmen call-SCI
    'Now go and call the workmen to split and shuttle the stones for building!'
```

Speaker is the leader of a house building project. Two non-final adverbial clauses are conjoined by than. The second occurrence of the conjunction does not join the finite main clause to the preceding purpose clause but is just part of two preceding coordinate clauses.

```
Coordination conjunction thang joining independent clauses 9.117 u-ni jal-la hassøt jan 'mak-mi khajet di [thoppa
that-ABL upwards-DAT VIP CONTR2 war-man plural DEF stomach
na-kuk than go na-kuk than
be.sick-PROG;VIS and head be.sick-PROG;VIS and
kup na-kuk ] sir-tuk. (TE17)
bottom be.sick-PROG;VIS say-PRF.VIS
```

'Then going further up the hill the soldiers said: "I have tummy sickness and I have headache and my bottom is sore".'

In this one the conjunction joins three independent clauses. However each of these clauses have different subject, though it is not marked on the surface. In other words the coordinating conjunction thay conjoins independent clauses within a quotation. This seems to be an alternative way in Lhomi to summarize a more cumbersome quotations like: Some soldiers said: My tummy aches, some said: I have headache etc....

The following is the summary of the coordination conjunction thay:
NP thay NP thay NP than Enumeration of nouns or coordination of NPs
$C L$ than $C L$ than $C L$ than Conjoining coordinate non-final clauses
CL than CL than CL Conjoining independent clauses

Next I will show how the other coordinating conjunction na 'or' is used in coordination and also how 'either...or' and 'neither ...nor' are constructed in Lhomi. There is more about this conjunction in section 14.4.2-3 on alternative questions.

## Coordination conjunction na conjoining independent clauses



1SG-GEN command-DAT attention DEF=FOC NEG-send;vbzr-NMLZ;CONJ.Q 'How much should I time and again speak to you or are you not paying attention?'
The village leader is speaking to the villagers and trying to convince them to follow his advice. These clauses are fully independent and grammatically questions but for reprimanding purpose.

aud.impact NEG-hear;understand-NMLZ;CONJ AUX=NEW.INF
'You do not understand whether you are the one who has died or the one who has survived.' Or: 'You do not understand whether you are dead or alive.'

Lama is giving his instructions to the soul of a dead man. The particle joins two headless object relative clauses which are independent also. Either of them could stand alone as an independent question clause. When they are conjoined by na (in brackets) they form an object complement of the main verb.

### 9.120 [ tam lap-t6e-ma duk=ka ] na

talking talk-SBJV-F2 EXIST.VIS=Q or
[sama tir-t6e-ma duk=ka ] na
food give-SBJV-F2 EXIST.VIS=Q or
[khanta tohit-tce-ma duk=ka]
what do;vbzr-SBJV-F2 EXIST.VIS=Q
u-ko 'juwa pik-na u-la tir go-ken bet. (TE45)
that-head apart separate-NFNT1 that-DAT give have.to-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'What you should talk or what food you should give or what else you should do, that you must sort out and give.'

This is from the story in which the younger sister gives advice to her elder sister about how to show hospitality. This example illustrates how this conjunction can be also used to join two or more correlative clauses (in square brackets). There is more about correlative clauses in section 16.1.7.

## The 'neither ... nor' construction

### 9.121 u-ko se-ni 'phento jup-tce na

that-head eat-NFNT2 benefit come-SBJV or
na mat-se-ni 'nøtto jü-t6e.
or NEG-eat-NFNT2 harm come-SBJV
'Neither would eating it benefit nor not eating harm you.' Or: 'Whether you eat it or not, it will neither benefit nor harm you.'

Grammatically neither of these clauses is a typical finite one. Yet they are in coordinate relation to each other. Conjunction na occurs twice which may tell the hearer that this is an idiom with unusual finite markings.

Other particles e.g. sen 'otherwise’ , boora 'rather', 'sumpa 'even more’, 'ni developmental marker and mentaa 'only' are treated in chapter 17 on clause combining and sentence and in chapter 8.

## 10. Word formation

In word formation Lhomi allows all kinds of combinations. At least the following combinations are found:
2 Monosyllabic roots
3 Monosyllabic roots

1Disyllabic root + 1 monosyllabic root

The following three morphophonemic rules must be kept in mind:
1.It is the first member of the compound that governs whether the word has tense or lax voice quality. Negative prefixes behave in a different way, see in chapter 12.4.

The following examples illustrate a compound of two noun roots:

10.2 ku + sy = kus-sy
idol body body[HON]
N N N
2. Word medial aspiration never occurs in Lhomi, except with negative prefixes. Therefore in word formation it is always dropped. The final vowel of the latter member of the compound may be occasionally dropped. Consider the following examples:

| 10.3 | 'tch | + 'thim |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | $=$ 'tch $\varnothing$-tim |  |
| lamaism | law | religious law |
| N | N | N |


| 10.4 | ku | + thin | $=$ kut-tin |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :--- |
| idol | gratitude | gratitude[HON] |  |
|  | N | N | N |


| 10.5 | do | + 't 6 hu | $=$ do-t $6 u$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| go | water | running water |  |
|  | V | N | N |


| 10.6 | luk + tuku | $=$ |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
| sheep offspring of an animal | lamb |  |
|  | N | N |

3. If the first member of the compound ends with a short vowel/a/, /o/, /u/, li/ and the latter member of the compound begins with /s, $6, \mathrm{ts}, \mathrm{t}$, tsh, t6h, $\mathrm{t}, \mathrm{t}, \mathrm{d}, \mathrm{d}, /$ the medial consonant is geminated. Consider the following examples:

$\begin{aligned} 10.8 & \text { Iha }+ \text { toun }=\end{aligned}=$ 'Ihat-tsun $\quad$ proper name of woman (Lit. small god)

Table 10.1 Combinations of monosyllabic words in word compounding

| 1 member | 2 member | 3 member | Word class of the compound |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| N | N |  | N, la6-6am |
| N | V |  | N, raj-si |
| N | NUM |  | N , 't6hak-sum |
| N | QUANT |  | N, 'mak-kak |
| N | ADJ |  | N, la-tok |
| N | NEG |  | QUANT, 'tshet-mit |
| DEM | N |  | N, hi-tsøt |
| ADJ | ADJ | NEG | ADJ, 't6hi-t6uy-mit |
| ADJ | ADJ |  | ADJ, 'trohi-touy |
| ADV | V |  | N, 'クø6-6i |
| ADV | ADV |  | ADV, dan-harin |
| NUM | N |  | N, 'sum-kor |
| V | N |  | N , su-ten |
| V | ADV |  | N, 'sø-ทøn |
| V | V |  | N , then-sø |
| V | QUANT |  | N, dzaa-kak |
| V | NEG |  | POST, 't6het-mit |
| POST | N |  | N , naj-løn |

The following examples illustrate some of them:

| 10.9 | 'tshak | 'sum | $=$ 'tshak-sum |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | hand[HON] | three | threefold |
|  | N | NUM | N |


| 10.10 | ran | + '6ii | $=$ ray-sii |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | self | know | self-learned |
|  | N | V | N |

10.11 u-ki ran-sii-ki '6ii-nar-a bet.
that-ERG self-know-INS know-COMPL-NMLZ;Q AUX
'He learned it by himself.' Or: 'He learned it on his own.'
10.12 'mak + gak = 'mak-kak
war a.lot army
N Q N
10.13 la + thoksi = la-tok

```
mountain small hill
N ADJ N
\begin{tabular}{lll}
10.14 & tshet & +- mit \\
measurement & \(=\) 'tshet-mit \\
& NEG & uncountable, innumerable \\
N & NEG & QUANT
\end{tabular}
10.15 hi- + 'tshøt = hi-tsøt
    this amount this amount, this much
    DEM N N
10.16 'trhi + toun + -mit = 'tohi-t6un-mit 
```



```
10.18 '\etaøn + '6ii = 'ngø6-6ii
    truly,very know foretelling, prophesy
    ADV
    V
                            N
10.19 da\eta + harin = da\eta-hari\eta
    yesterday today in these days
    ADV ADV ADV
\begin{tabular}{llcc}
10.20 & 6i & + & 'khor \\
& four & go.around & fourfold \\
& NUM & V & N
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{clll}
10.21 & \(\mathbf{6 u ~} \quad+\) & ten & \(=\mathbf{s u}-\mathrm{ten}\) \\
& request & solid.state & earnest request \\
& V & N & N
\end{tabular}
```



```
\begin{tabular}{lll}
10.23 & then & 'sø \(=\) then-s \(\varnothing\) \\
miss, long for & survive & remembrance, reminder \\
\(V\) & V & N
\end{tabular}
```



## 11. Terms of address

Lhomi society has always been very hierarchical and this particularly shows in the use of address terms. In recent years the Lhomi community has become a bit more egalitarian. In the following examples I limit myself to discuss only one kind of speech act, namely meeting someone on trail and asking him: 'Where do you go?' This is functionally a greeting throughout the whole country. There are several factors which determine the choice of words (honorific degree) the adressor must use. The following factors are not in order of importance:

1. Seniority of the addressee.
2. Kinship relationship of the addressor and the addressee.
3. Religious office, rank, reputation or secular office or rank of the addressee in the Lhomi society.
4. Honorific term of address normally determines whether the verb used by the addressor is a common or an honorific.
5. In Lhomi verbs occasionally there is a third honorific degree which I call high honorific, e.g. sa common 'to eat', 'tshøt honorific 'to eat' and sii high honorific 'to eat'. Typically these high honorific verbs are Tibetan verbs and Lhomis also recognize them as such.

Government officials who may be living in Lhomi area are always addressed in Nepali because they do not normally know Lhomi language.

The verb of this greeting is marked for second person question but the term of address may be a third person. Therefore the term of address stands alone like a vocative phrase though vocative markers are not always used. The following examples illustrate this complex issue in Lhomi (term of address is underlined):

The addressee is a child but not from the same family as the addressor (2SG pronouns and personal names may be used, but no kinship terms)

```
11.1 ran kha-la do-ken?
    2SG where-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
    'Where do you go?'
```

The personal pronoun here is the lowest in honorific scale and is only used for children.

## 11.2 'khøt kha-la do-ken?

2SG where-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
'Where do you go?'
This personal pronoun is also a low form but may be used for children and for those who are equal in social ranking.

## 11.3 'Ihakpa kha-la do-ken? <br> Lhakpa where-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ.Q <br> 'Lhakpa where do you go?'

This is one of the rare cases when a proper name alone can be used as a term of address. There is no personal pronoun here but the second person question is marked in the verb.

The addressee is a younger sister or a younger brother of the addressor (2SG pronouns ran and 'khøt are used but proper names never. Obviously the adressee ranks lower than the addressor in terms of kinship hierarchy.)

```
11.4 ran kha-la do-ken?
    2SG where-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
    'Where do you go?'
11.5 'khøt kha-la do-ken?
    2SG where-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
    'Where do you go?'
```

The addressee and the addressor are of equal rank in terms of kinship and age seniority
(2SG pronoun 'khøt is used but no proper names or kinship terms)

```
11.6 'khøt kha-la do-ken?
    2SG where-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
    'Where do you go?'
```

The addressee is an older brother/cousin or an older sister/cousin of the addressor and therefore ranks little bit higher than the addressor in terms of kinship
(2SG pronoun 'khøt or a proper kinship term toto or 'atci may be used)

```
11.7 'khøt kha-la do-ken?
    2SG where-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
    'Where do you go?'
```


## 11.8 toto kha-la do-ken? <br> elder.brother where-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ.Q <br> 'Elder brother, where do you go?'

To use a kinship term in this example is considered to be a bit more polite than using the pronoun only.

## The addressee is a father or a mother of the addressor

11.9 papa kha-la do-ken?
father where-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
'Father, where do you go?'
This kinship term is a common one and so is the verb.

### 11.10 papa kha-la tohøŋ-ken? <br> father where-DAT go[HON]-NMLZ;CONJ.Q <br> 'Father, where do you go?'

The address term is a common one but the verb is an honorific.

### 11.11 pa-laa kha-la tshør-ken?

father-VOC[HON] where-DAT go[HON]-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
'Father, where do you go?'
This term of address is rarely used. Its use requires that the verb also is an honorific one.

## The addressee is an uncle or an aunt of the addressor

There are four ways to address an uncle and an aunt. The factors listed in the beginning of this section are important when the addessor decides how to word his address. In the following examples it is assumed that uncle and aunt are older than the addressor.

```
11.12 'aku 'Ihakpa kha-la do-ken?
    uncle 'lhakpa where-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
    'Uncle Lhakpa, where do you go?'
    The kinship term is slightly honorific but the verb is a common one.
```

```
11.13 'aku kha-la do-ken?
    uncle where-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
    'Uncle, where do you go?'
    This is more typical than the previous one which has the proper name.
```

```
11.14 'aku kha-la tohø\eta-ken?
    uncle where-DAT go[HON]-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
    'Uncle, where do you go?'
```

This ranks higher than the previous example in terms of honorific scale.

### 11.15 'aku-laa kha-la tshør-ken? <br> uncle-VOC[HON] where-DAT go[HON]-NMLZ;CONJ.Q <br> 'Uncle, where do you go?'

## The addressee is a lama

Religious functionaries are traditionally highly respected. The most honored terms of address are the last ones in the following list of examples:

### 11.16 'tshirin kha-la do-ken?

'tshiring where-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
Chiring, where do you go?'
This is really very low form and implies that the addressor and addressee are close friends.

### 11.17 'lama 'tshirin kha-la do-ken? <br> lama 'tshiring where-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ.Q

Lama Chiring, where do you go?'
This is slightly more honorific than the previous example, religious title + proper name.

### 11.18 'aku 'lama kha-la do-ken? <br> uncle lama where-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ.Q <br> 'Uncle lama, where do you go?'

In this one the addressee is also an uncle to the speaker. The term of address is kinship term + religious title.

### 11.19 mimi kha-la tohør-ken? <br> high.lama where-DAT go[HON]-NMLZ;CONJ.Q

'Respected lama, where do you go?'
The title of an old and respected lama is mimi. The verb is honorific.

### 11.20 mimi-laa kha-la tohøŋ-ken? <br> high.lama-VOC[HON] where-DAT go[HON]-NMLZ;CONJ.Q

'Honorable lama, where do you go?'
When the honorific vocative marker is added to the honorific title it makes it even more honorific.

### 11.21 mimi-laa kha-la 'phip-ken? <br> high.lama-VOC[HON] where-DAT go[HON]-NMLZ;CONJ.Q <br> 'Honorable lama, where do you go?'

The honorific verb 'phip in this example is a Tibetan honorific verb (see Jäschke, Heinrich August. 1881. A Tibetan-English Dictionary with special reference to the prevailing dialects; to which is added an English-Tibetan vocabulary. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. Reprinted 1980 Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass:345). However Lhomis use it often though it is known as a Tibetan word. It is considered higher honorific verb than the honorific Lhomi counterpart tchøn.

## The addressee is a religious teacher of the addressor

This term caje 'lama actually refers to any kind of teacher and as a term of address it can be used only if there are other people present.

```
11.22 tsaje 'lama kha-la tohø\eta-ken?
    teacher where-DAT go[HON]-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
    'Teacher, where do you go?'
```


### 11.23 tsaje 'lama kha-la 'phip-ken?

teacher where-DAT go[HON]-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
'Teacher, where do you go?'
Only honorific verbs are used with this title. Unlike other titles and kinship terms the vocative marker does not combine with this title.

## The addressee is gempu, who used to be the title of a village leader in early days

| 11.24 | gem-pu <br> responsibility-M1$\frac{\text { karma }}{\text { karma }}$ where-DAT | do-ken? |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 'Go-NMLZ;CONJ.Q |  |  |

11.25 gempu kha-la do-ken?
leader where-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
'Gempu, where do you go?'
11.26 gempu kha-la t6høŋ-ken?

    leader where-DAT go[HON]-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
    
    ‘Gempu, where do you go?’
    11.27 gempu kha-la 'phip-ken?

    leader where-DAT go[HON]-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
    ‘Gempu, where do you go?'
    Honorific vocative marker -laa does not combine with this title.
    The addressee is a local government official but an ethnic Lhomi
    These examples are from the time when the Lhomi area as well as the whole country had so called 'panchayat' system. It was imposed from outside by the national government and this fact is reflected in terms of address:

### 11.28 partan kha-la do-ken? <br> pradhan where-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ.Q <br> 'Pradhan, where do you go?'

### 11.29 partan sajip kha-la tohøŋ-ken?

pradhan sahib where-DAT go[HON]-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
'Pradhan Sahib, where do you go?'

### 11.30 partan sajip kha-la 'phip-ken? <br> pradhan sahib where-DAT go[HON]-NMLZ;CONJ.Q <br> 'Pradhan Sahib, where do your go?'

Lhomis normally do not use the polite address term Sahib/Saheb (from India) except for foreigners. However this Indian loan was used in 70-80s for all government officials who were not ethnic Lhomis and in some cases even for Lhomis as I have exemplified above. Honorific vocative marker -laa does not combine with this term of address. Proper name of the addressee never occurs with this title either.

A Lhomi man is supposed to address his ritual kin always with honorifics. This is required by the original ritual, which is part of the covenant promise between two persons who have become ritual friends (fictive kin). They have certain obligations and privileges and the use of honorifics is one. If one of them refuses to use honorific language to the other then it means that he breaches the covenant promise. Age, position, wealth, education do not count at all. Typically the ritual friends are of the same age anyway. Occasionally also ethnic boundaries are crossed in forming these fictive kin relations.

As for the affection it seems to have very little relevance for the addressor in choosing the right degree of honorific. More affection towards the addressee makes one to choose a higher term than he would normally choose. However affection does impact the way one speaks, but it does not seem to affect so much the terms of address.

In table 11.1 the highest degree of honor is at the bottom. The lowest is on the top. This table does not cover all the examples 11.1-30. An average addressor knows well his own position and the position of his addressee. Therefore he does not have to choose from among all those 10-11 options. He probably has only 1-2 options to choose from when he greets someone on trail. If he does not know the person at all then he plays safe and chooses the form which is as polite as possible.

## Table 11.1 Summary of address terms and verbs in the common greeting: 'Where do you go?’

| 2SG | Kinship <br> term | Title | Honorific <br> Vocative <br> -laa | Common <br> verb with the <br> question word | Honorific verb <br> with the question <br> word | Tib. honorific <br> verb with the <br> question word |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |


| ran |  |  |  | kha-la do-ken |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 'khøt |  |  |  | kha-la do-ken |  |  |
|  | toto |  |  | kha-la do-ken |  |  |
|  | papa |  |  | kha-la do-ken |  |  |
|  | papa |  |  |  | kha-la t6høŋ-ken |  |
|  |  |  | pa-laa |  | kha-la t6høŋ-ken |  |
|  |  |  | 'aku-laa |  | kha-la t6høך-ken |  |
|  |  | gempu |  |  |  | kha-la 'phip-ken |
|  |  | mimi |  |  | kha-la t6høク-ken |  |
|  |  |  | mimi-laa |  | kha-la t6høク-ken |  |
|  |  |  | mimi-laa |  |  | kha-la 'phip-ken |

Table 11.2 Some honorific verbs and their common counterparts

| Honorific <br> verb | English meaning | Common <br> verb | English meaning |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tбhøn | to go, to come | do | 'to go' |
| 'phip (Tib) | 'to go, to come' | do | 'to go' |
| suu | 'to sit, to stay' | døt | 'to sit', to stay' |
| 't6høt | 'to drink, to eat' | sa | 'to eat' |
| sii (Tib) | 'to eat, to drink, to consume' | sa, 'thun | 'to eat', 'to drink' |
| 'sumr dzet | 'to welcome someone' | 'sumy trhit | 'to welcome someone' |
| 'naŋ | 'to give something' | tøt | 'to give something' |
| 'sen | 'to hear, to listen' | nen | 'to listen' |
| 'sun | 'to speak, to tell' | '6øt | 'to speak, to tell' |
| sii | 'to look at, to see' | 'thon, ta | 'to see' 'to look at' |

Comments about table 11.2:
-Lhomis recognize some honorific verbs as being Tibetan loans. However for the reason unknown to me they are regarded as more honorific than their honorific Lhomi counterparts, e.g. . $\mathbf{i i}$ 'to eat, to drink' and 'tchøt 'to eat'.
-Honorific verbs are often underdifferentiated, e.g. 'to eat and drink, 'to see and look at'. Same reportedly happens with Tibetan honorific verbs, (DeLancey, Scott. 1998. Semantic Categorization in Tibetan Honorific Nouns, Anthropological Linguistics 40.1:111) -It is not usually acceptable to have an honorific noun and a common verb in the same clause, provided that there is an honorific verb available.

## 12. Verbs and verb morphology

Verbs in Lhomi differ from other word classes in that they have their own set of suffixes that never combine with the words of other word classes. Also the
morphophonemic changes in verb roots with inflectional suffixes is unique and does not occur with any other word class, see more in section 12.1. Only verbs can combine with the following suffixes (not all are listed):

1. finite verbal suffixes:
-son PST.VIS, occasionally also in non-finite clauses
-tcun PST.EXP, -mon NEG.PST.EXP, occasionally also in non-finite clauses
-pa bet NMLZ;Q AUX,
-tuk PRF.VIS,
-penl-en 1PST,
-kuk PROG;VIS, occasionally also in non-finite clauses
-køt PROG;EXP, occasionally also in non-finite clauses
-ken NMLZ;CONJ,
-let SCI,
-ton 1PL.HORT,
-ki 1SG.HORT,
-to PROB
-t6it IMP2
2. non-finite verbal suffixes:
-na NFNT1,
-ni NFNT2,
-tban NFNT3

### 12.1 Morphophonemic vowel changes in verb roots

There are quite a few types of Lhomi verb roots based on morphophonemic changes that take place depending on what inflectional suffixes are affixed to the root. All verb roots in Lhomi are free morphemes which may stand alone without any affixation. I have chosen the nonpast root as the base. Typically the morphophonemic changes in the verb root are unpredictable. There may be up to three different vowels in a single verb root that take part in the vowel shift throughout the inflection.

The roots of those verbs that have semantic role of an agent have been divided to three categories: nonpast, past and imperative. In other words an inflectional verbal suffix requires either nonpast or past or imperative verb root. Typically a verbal suffix which is attached to the finite verb root combines only with one of those three verb root types. There are exceptions. Obviously those verbs that cannot have the role of an agent have only two types of roots, nonpast and past.

The subscript d1 refers to those verb roots (CV and V types) that retain the same root vowel all the way through the paradigm (there is one exception in table 12.1).

The subscript $\mathbf{r 1}$ refers to roots (CVC and VC types) that do not drop their root final consonant and do not change the root vowel in the paradigm. The subscripts r2, r3 and r4 refer to roots (CVC types) that do not drop the root final consonant but do change the root vowel.

The subscript a1 refers to those roots (CVC types) that do not change the root final vowel but drop the final consonant and lengthen the root vowel with certain inflectional suffixes.

The subscripts a2, a3 and a4 refer to those roots (CV types) that change the root vowel and lengthen it.

The subscript a5 refers to those roots (CVC types) that change the root vowel, drop the root final consonant and lengthen the root vowel.

The tables 12.1-12 provide the key for different types of morphophonemic roots of Lhomi verbs.

## Table 12.1 Vowels of CV and V verb roots which retain the vowel

| root type | $\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{d} 1}$ | $\mathrm{~V}_{\mathrm{d} 1}$ | $\mathrm{~V}_{\mathrm{d} 1}$ | $\mathrm{~V}_{\mathrm{d} 1}$ | $\mathrm{~V}_{\mathrm{d} 1}$ | $\mathrm{~V}_{\mathrm{d} 1}$ | $\mathrm{~V}_{\mathrm{d} 1}$ | $\mathrm{~V}_{\mathrm{d} 1}$ | $\mathrm{~V}_{\mathrm{d} 1}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| nonpast root | $\mathbf{0 o}$ | $\mathbf{u u}$ | $\mathbf{i}$ | $\mathbf{i i}$ | $\mathbf{e}$ | $\boldsymbol{\varnothing}$ | $\mathbf{Y}$ | $\mathbf{a}$ | $\mathbf{a a}$ |
| past root | $\mathbf{0 0}$ | $\mathbf{u u}$ | $\mathbf{i}$ | $\mathbf{i i}$ | $\mathbf{e}$ | $\boldsymbol{\varnothing}$ | $\mathbf{Y}$ | $\mathbf{a}$ | $\mathbf{a a}$ |
| imperative root | $\mathbf{o o}$ | $\mathbf{u u}$ | $\mathbf{i}$ | $\mathbf{i i}$ | $\mathbf{e}$ | $\boldsymbol{\varnothing}$ | $\mathbf{Y}$ | ${ }^{*}$ | $\mathbf{0 0}$ |

Table 12.2 Verb roots of CV and V type which retain the root vowel

| Lhomi verb | English | nonpast root | past root | imperative root |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| doo | to pull upwards | doo | doo | doo |
| puu | to offer something | puu | puu | puu |
| kala tsi | to obey a command | kala tsi | kala tsi | kala tsi |
| tii | to push down | tii | tii | tii |
| 'se | to clear away | 'se | 'se | 'se |
| thø | to escape | thø | thø | thø |
| khy | to give in | khy | khy | khy |
| na | to become sick | na | na | * |
| 'naa | to put someone to bed | 'naa | 'naa | 'noo |
| $\varnothing$ | to be suitable | $\varnothing$ | $\varnothing$ | * |

In the table above there are two verbs that cannot inflect for imperative because they are not agentive verbs. All other verbs may have imperatives.

A Lhomi verb root is a free morpheme and any of those roots in table 12.2 may occur without any affixation. Lhomi vowels lel, Iøl and $/ \mathbf{Y} /$ are always long in open syllables.

Table 12.3 Vowels of CVC and VC verb roots which retain the final consonant and the root vowel

| root type | $\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{r} 1}$ | $\mathrm{~V}_{\mathrm{r} 1}$ | $\mathrm{~V}_{\mathrm{r} 1}$ | $\mathrm{~V}_{\mathrm{r} 1}$ | $\mathrm{~V}_{\mathrm{r} 1}$ | $\mathrm{~V}_{\mathrm{r} 1}$ | $\mathrm{~V}_{\mathrm{r} 1}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |


| nonpast root | $\mathbf{o}$ | $\mathbf{u}$ | $\mathbf{i}$ | $\mathbf{e}$ | $\boldsymbol{\varnothing}$ | $\mathbf{Y}$ | $\mathbf{a}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| past root | $\mathbf{o}$ | $\mathbf{u}$ | $\mathbf{i}$ | $\mathbf{e}$ | $\boldsymbol{\varnothing}$ | $\mathbf{Y}$ | $\mathbf{a}$ |
| imperative root | $\mathbf{o}$ | $\mathbf{u}$ | $\mathbf{i}$ | $\mathbf{e}$ | $\boldsymbol{\varnothing}$ | $\mathbf{Y}$ | $\mathbf{a}$ |

Table 12.4 Verb roots of CVC and VC type which retain the final consonant and the root vowel

| Lhomi verb | English | nonpast root | past root | imperative root |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| lok | to return back | lok | lok | lok |
| luk | to put somewhere | 'luk | 'luk | 'luk |
| 'thik | to fetch someone | 'thik | 'thik | 'thik |
| ken | to fill up something | ken | ken | ken |
| pyt | to set apart | prt | prt | prt |
| ton | to pull out from | ton | ton | ton |
| 'thot | to receive something | 'thot | 'thot | -- |
| kak | to cover something | kak | kak | kak |

Table 12.5 Vowels of CVC verb roots which retain the final consonant but change the root vowel

| root type | $\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{r} 2}$ | $\mathrm{~V}_{\mathrm{r} 3}$ | $\mathrm{~V}_{\mathrm{r} 4}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| nonpast root | $\boldsymbol{\varnothing}$ | $\mathbf{o}$ | $\mathbf{a}$ |
| past root | $\mathbf{e}$ | $\mathbf{a}$ | $\mathbf{a}$ |
| imperative root | $\boldsymbol{\varnothing}$ | $\mathbf{o}$ | $\mathbf{o}$ |

Table 12.6 Verb roots of CVC type which retain the final consonant but change the root vowel

| Lhomi verb | English | nonpast root | past root | imperative root |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| tøt ( $\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{r} 2}$ ) | to give | tøt | tet | tøt |
| t60k ( $\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{r} 3}$ ) | to cut something | t60k | trak | t60k |
| phap ( $\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{r} 4}$ ) | to descend | phap | phap | phop |

When the verbal suffix begins with /s,ts,t6,k,p/ the root final consonant /t/ assimilates to it, e.g. tes-son.

Table 12.7 Vowels of CVC and VC verb roots which do not change the root vowel but drop the final consonant and lengthen the vowel

| root type | $\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{a} 1}$ | $\mathrm{~V}_{\mathrm{a} 1}$ | $\mathrm{~V}_{\mathrm{a} 1}$ | $\mathrm{~V}_{\mathrm{a} 1}$ | $\mathrm{~V}_{\mathrm{a} 1}$ | $\mathrm{~V}_{\mathrm{a} 1}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |


| nonpast root | $\mathbf{0}$ | $\mathbf{u}$ | $\mathbf{i}$ | $\mathbf{e}$ | $\boldsymbol{\varnothing}$ | $\mathbf{Y}$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| past root | $\mathbf{0 0}$ | $\mathbf{u u}$ | $\mathbf{i i}$ | $\mathbf{e}$ | $\boldsymbol{\varnothing}$ | $\mathbf{Y}$ |
| imperative root | $\mathbf{0 o}$ | $\mathbf{u u}$ | $\mathbf{i i}$ | $\mathbf{e}$ | $\boldsymbol{\varnothing}$ | $\mathbf{Y}$ |

(Note that the vowels /e, ø, y / are always long in open syllables.)
Table 12.8 Verb roots of CVC and VC type which do not change the root vowel but drop the final consonant and lengthen the vowel

| Lhomi verb | English | nonpast root | past root | imperative root |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tok | to pick something | tok | too | too |
| suk | to enter somewhere | suk | 6uu | suu |
| 'phik | to erase something | 'phik | 'phii | 'phii |
| 'hek | to burn something | 'hek | 'he | 'he |
| phøt | to invite someone | phøt | phø | phø |
| drt | to gather something | drt | dr | dr |
| 'ok | to dig up something | 'ok | 'oo | 'oo |

Table 12.9 Vowels of CV verb roots which change the root vowel

| root type | $\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{a} 2}$ | $\mathrm{~V}_{\mathrm{a} 3}$ | $\mathrm{~V}_{\mathrm{a} 4}$ | $\mathrm{~V}_{\mathrm{a} 4}$ | $\mathrm{~V}_{\mathrm{a} 4}$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| nonpast root | $\boldsymbol{\varnothing}$ | $\mathbf{a}$ | $\mathbf{i}$ | $\mathbf{u}$ | $\mathbf{o}$ |
| past root | $\mathbf{e}$ | $\mathbf{e}$ | $\mathbf{i i}$ | $\mathbf{Y}$ | $\boldsymbol{\varnothing}$ |
| imperative root | $\varnothing$ | $\boldsymbol{\varnothing}$ | $\mathbf{i i}$ | $\mathbf{Y}$ | $\boldsymbol{\varnothing}$ |

Table 12.10 Verb roots of CV type which change the root vowel

| Lhomi verb | English | nonpast root | past root | imperative root |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| t6ø ( $\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{az}}$ ) | to accompany someone | t6ø | t6e | t6ø |
| ta ( $\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{a} 3}$ ) | to look at | ta | te | tø |
| 6u ( $\mathrm{Va4}_{\text {4 }}$ ) | to request something | 6u | 6Y | 6Y |
| no ( $\mathrm{Va4}_{4}$ ) | to buy | no | nø | nø |
| thi ( $\mathrm{Va4}^{4}$ | to enquire | thi | thii | thii |

Table 12.11 Vowels of CVC verb roots which change the root vowel, drop the final consonant and lengthen the vowel

| root type | $\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{a} 5}$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| nonpast root | $\mathbf{a}$ |
| past root | aa |
| imperative root | $\mathbf{0 0}$ |

# Table 12.12 Verb roots of CVC type which change the root vowel, drop the final consonant and lengthen the vowel 

| Lhomi verb | English | nonpast root | past root | imperative root |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| t6ak $\left(\mathbf{V}_{\mathrm{a} 5}\right)$ | to ladle out | t6ak | t6aa | t600 |
| tak $\left(\mathbf{V}_{\mathrm{a} 5}\right)$ | to grind (flour) | tak | taa | too |

There are some verb roots that show irregularity and do not fit into the tables above. They are frequently occuring motion verbs or presentation verbs like sir 'to say', tshi 'do;vbzr', dzak 'vbzr, do 'go' and 'phin 'go.come'. There is more about that in section 12.3.

### 12.2 Semantically empty grammatical heads

Lhomi has some semantically empty or almost empty heads which combine with hundreds of nouns to form a lexical verb. I still call them verbalizers. I am not sure where I got the term from. A Lhomi verbalizer is the grammatical head of a verb phrase and it gets all the markings of the non-finite and finite verbs in a clause. A particular verbalizer is not limited to form just one or two types of verbs but often forms almost any type of verb.

The most common verbalizers in Lhomi are dzak, trhit and ton. The first one is absolutely void of any lexical content. The second one has occasionally the sense 'to do' or 'to make' or 'to say'. The third one with certain nouns has the sense 'to send' but normally it also gets its lexical content from the noun it combines with. In other words it is the lexical verb (noun +verbalizer) which needs to be filed in Lhomi lexicon, not just the verbalizer, e.g. dzak. Typically the noun is the object argument of the verb but it can fill any argument slot.

These three verbalizers are productive in the sense that when a noun is borrowed from English or Nepali and the need arises to have a verb they may be used, e.g. 'phon ton 'to make a phone call', phor t6hit 'to cast a vote in election'. Consider the following examples (lexical verbs are underlined and the clause type is also marked):

| 12.1 | リ-e | te-la | 'tsha |  | dzap-en. | BT1 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 1SG-ERG | rice-DAT | salt |  | vbzr-1PST |  |
|  | I exchanged salt for rice.' |  |  |  |  |  |


| 12.2 | Ə-e | t6e |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1SG-ERG | swimming | $\frac{\text { dzap-en. T1 }}{\text { vbzr-1PST }}$ |
|  | I swam.' |  |
|  | This is a control activity verb. |  |


| 12.3 | 'jak-la | 'tsheppa dzak-ken | bet. BR1 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | yak-DAT heat vbzr-NMLZ;CONJ | AUX |  |
|  | 'Yak feels hot.' |  |  |
|  | This is a generic statement about yaks at low altitude. |  |  |


12.5 pap-e ya-la 'phon tan-tsun. BT1
father-ERG 1SG-DAT phone send;vbzr-PST.EXP
'Dad called me by phone.' (Lit:'Dad sent a phone call to me.')
This is a modern equivalent of sending a letter or an oral message to someone.
12.6 doman-la raj-ki gomt6on tan-son. BT4
rel.book-DAT 2SG-ERG defilement.leap send;vbzr-PST.VIS
'You leaped over the domang book and defiled it.'
12.7 'ryk-ki t6øn taj-son. BT6
landslide-INS damage send;vbzr-PST.VIS
'The landslide caused damage.'
Most verbs with this verbalizer ton are BT or T verbs. The example 12.8 shows that occasionally it produces other types of verbs too.
12.8 'nam-san ton-kuk. R2
sky-good send;vbzr-PROG;VIS
'It is a sunny day.'

### 12.3 Irregular verbs

Lhomi has some very common verbs whose inflection is irregular. I do not mean the morphophonemic changes which I have dealt in chapter 12.1. The following table gives some verbs with irregular inflectional patterns. Only samples of different patterns are included.

Table 12.13 Inflection patterns of some common irregular verbs
(Exact English meaning is not given because it varies so much depending on the context. The morpheme glosses are the ones I have been using in this write-up.)

| Irregular verb <br> 'to go' | Finite and non- <br> finite suffixes | Irregular verb <br> 'to give' | Finite and non-finite <br> suffixes |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| do | go[NPST] (base) | tir | give[NPST] (base) |
| do | go[IMP] | tir | give[IMP] |
| do-ken | -NMLZ;CONJ | tik-ken | -NMLZ;CONJ |
| do-ken bet | -NMLZ;CONJ AUX | tik-ken bet | -NMLZ;CONJ AUX |


| do-kuk | -PROG;VIS | tik-kuk | -PROG;VIS |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| do-køt | -PROG;EXP | tik-køt | -PROG;EXP |
| do-køp=pa | -PROG;EXP=Q | tik-køp=pa | -PROG;EXP=Q |
| 'son | PST.VIS | bin-son | -PST.VIS |
| 'mat-son | NEG-go[PST.VIS] | mat-bin-son | NEG-give[PST]-PST.VIS |
| 'son-a bet | go[PST]-NMLZ;Q AUX | bim-pa bet | -NMLZ;Q AUX |
| 'son-na | go[PST]-NFNT1 | bin-na | -NFNT1 |
|  |  | bim-pen | -1PST |
|  |  | bim=pa | =NMLZ;Q |
|  |  | mat-bin | NEG-give[PST] |
| Irregular verb 'to go and come back' | Finite and nonfinite suffixes |  |  |
| 'phim-pen | -1PST |  |  |
| 'phim-pa bet | -NMLZ;Q AUX |  |  |
| 'phin-son | -PST.VIS |  |  |
| 'mat-phin | NEG-go.come[PST] |  |  |
| 'phin-ni | go.come[PST]NFNT2 |  |  |
| Irregular verb 'to say' | Finite and nonfinite suffixes | Irregular verbalizer (lexically empty) | Finite and non-finite suffixes |
| sir | say[NPST] base | dzak | vbzr[NPST] base |
| sir | say[IMP] | dzop | vbzr[IMP] |
| si-kuk | -PROG;VIS | dzak-kuk | -PROG;VIS |
| sir-son | -PST.VIS | dzap-son | -PST.VIS |
| sir-tsun | -PST.EXP | dzap-tsun | -PST.EXP |
| sir-tuk | -PRF.VIS | dzap-tuk | -PRF.VIS |
| sir-a | -NMLZ;Q | dzap-a | -NMLZ;Q |
| sin-na | -NFNT1 | dzap-na | -NFNT1 |
| mat-sin-na | $\begin{aligned} & \text { NEG-say[PST]- } \\ & \text { NFNT1 } \end{aligned}$ | mat-dzap-na | NEG-vbzr[PST]-NFNT1 |
| tshi-pa bet | -NMLZ;Q AUX | dzap-a bet | -NMLZ;Q AUX |
| tshi-pen | -1PST | dzoap-en | -1PST |
| t6hi=pa | =NMLZ;Q | dzap-a | -NMLZ;Q |

-The first verb do has totally different roots for nonpast and past inflections. Its lexical meaning is 'to go', an activity of moving away from the place of speech act. Obviously 1.person past never occurs.
-The verb 'phin has no nonpast or imperative root.
-The verb sir allows some verbal suffixes that normally attach to past root. But it does not allow all of them, e.g. sir-son, sir-en* 1PST.
-The verb root tir allows no past inflection. There is another root bin which is used for past. There is also a synonymous verb tøt which accepts all inflectional finite and nonfinite suffixes.
-The verbalizer dzak is irregular in the sense that the root final consonant does not follow any of the patterns described in 12.1. The lexical meaning comes from the noun it collocates with.

### 12.4 Negation

## Phonological and morphological note about negative prefixes

Lhomi verb roots are always monosyllabic and as I have stated earlier a string of suffixes (inflectional or derivational) can be attached to a root. In other words there are no verb compounds. Negative prefixes on verbs are the only prefixes which can be attached to a verb root.

Prefixes are very rare in other word classes.
Earlier I used to classify the negation markers mit and mat as words rather than prefixes. Now I have changed my mind and in the current Lhomi Roman orthography I have chosen to classify them as prefixes for the following reasons:
-Many related languages like Newar, Jirel and Yohlmu classify them as prefixes.
-Lhomis themselves prefer to write prefixes rather than words in their current Devanagri orthography.
-Since the negative markers are the only prefixes Lhomi verbs have, it would be acceptable if they behave phonologically in an unusual way.
-The Romanized Lhomi text looks so much nicer somehow with the negative prefixes rather than with negative words.

The negative prefix mit- negates nonpast verbs and mat- combines with past and imperative roots. The former prefix is the base form. The negative prefix makes the whole clause/sentence negated. In the verbal phrase without auxiliaries the negative prefix typically attaches to the grammatical head of a verb. If an auxiliary is present, the prefix may be attached to it occasionally.

The morphophonemic changes which take place in the prefix and in the initial consonant of the verb will explain why Lhomi negative prefix has a final /t/. The following morphophonemic rules apply when a verb is negated by a negative prefix:
-High-low register contrast of the verb is governed by the verb, not by the prefix. In Lhomi it is the whole word which is either in tense register or lax register.
-Nonpast prefix mit- attaches to nonpast verb roots.
-Past prefix mat- attaches to past verb roots and to imperative verb roots.
-When the initial phoneme of the verb root is /m, n, $\mathrm{n}, \mathrm{l}, \mathrm{lh}, \mathrm{r}, \mathrm{h}, \mathrm{j}, \mathrm{w}$ or a vowel/ the final /t/ of the prefix changes to a glottal stop which is a phonetic variant of alveolar stop tt/.
-When the initial phoneme of the verb is any other consonant phoneme (/s, $6, \mathrm{t}, \mathrm{t}, \mathrm{ts}$, t6, $\mathrm{tsh}, \mathrm{t}$. $\mathrm{h} /$ ) the final /t/ of the prefix assimilates to the root initial consonant and there is an audible gemination.
-There is phonological stress on the prefix particularly when the negated verb is without any suffixation.

There is also a negation marker -mon/-man which is suffixed to a finite verb, e.g.
12.23. I gloss this morpheme as NEG.PST.EXP. It is the negative counterpart of -tcun which marks the direct experience for speaker/hearer. Morphologically it seems to be a merger which explains why occasionally also 'mat-lit-tsun 'he did not arrive', occurs. There is more about this in section 13.1.1

The operators that nominalize verbs are very common in Lhomi and all kinds of negations take place in those operations but they are not included in examples below.

The negative prefixes mit- and mat- have merged with existentials and copulas in the following way:

## Table 12.14 Negative prefixes merging with copulas

| mit- +copula <br> mit- + auxiliary | Fused form | Morpheme glosses <br> of fused forms |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mit- + bet | mem-pet | NEG-COP |
| mit- + him=pa | mem=pa | NEG.COP.EXP=Q |
| mit- + hin-to | men-to | NEG.COP-PROB |
| mit- + hin | men | NEG.COP.EXP |
| mit- + hin-køppet | men-køppet | NEG.COP-INFER |

Table 12.15 Negative prefixes merging with existentials

| mit- +existential <br> mit- +auxiliary | Fused form | Morpheme glosses <br> of fused forms |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mit- +jøt | mit | NEG.EXIST.EXP |
| mit- +jøp=pa | mip=pa | NEG.EXIST.EXP=Q |
| mit- +jøppa bet | mip-pa bet | NEG.EXIST-NMLZ;Q AUX |
| mit- +duk | min-tuk | NEG-EXIST.VIS |
| mit- +jøt-to | mit-to | NEG.EXIST-PROB |
| mit- + jøt-tban | mit-t6an | NEG.EXIST-NFNT3 |

## Negative prefix attached to the grammatical head of a finite volitional verb

(The next examples illustrate some pairs of simple affirmative and negative clauses)
$\begin{array}{ll}12.9 & \text { ya nempet 'thom-la do-ken. } \\ & \text { 1SG tomorrow market-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ }\end{array}$
'I will go to the market tomorrow.'
12.10 ŋa nempet 'thom-la mit-do.

1SG tomorrow market-DAT NEG-go[NPST]
II won't go to the market tomorrow.
First person negated declaratives of volitional verbs have only the negated verb root. There is more about this in section 12.6.
12.11 y-e phitsa-la tuwa 'luk-pen.

1SG-ERG child-DAT food put-1PST
'I fed the porridge to the child.' Or: 'I fed the baby.'
12.12 万-e phitsa-la tuwa 'mat-luk.

1SG-ERG child-DAT food NEG-put[PST]
'I did not feed the porridge to the child.'
Note that the past root of the verb stands alone when the clause is negated in the first person. This is true of all agentive verbs in nonpast and past tense. In other words the first person agent/subject of a negated agentive verb is marked in the verb as follows:
NEG -V.root[NPST]

NEG -V.root [PST]
12.13 'am-e phitsa-la tuwa 'luk-son.
mother-ERG child-DAT food put-PST.VIS
'Mother fed the food to the child.'
12.14 'am-e phitsa-la tuwa 'mat-luk-son
mother-ERG child-DAT food NEG-put-PST.VIS
'Mother did not feed the food to the child.' Or.'Mother did not feed the baby.'

Negative prefix attached to the grammatical head of an unvolitional finite verb

| 12.15 | n-e | papa 'mat-6i-son. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 1SG-GEN father NEG-die-PST.VIS |  |
|  | 'My father did not die.' |  |

$\begin{array}{lllll}12.16 & \text { y-e } & \text { 'khimtsi } & \text { 'mat-яi-ja } & \text { bet. } \\ & \text { 1SG-GEN } & \text { neighbour } & \text { NEG-die-NMLZ;Q } & \text { AUX }\end{array}$
'My neighbour did not die.'
12.17 'tsheppa dzak-kuk.
rain vbzr-PROG;VIS
'It is raining.'

### 12.18 'tsheppa mit-dzak-pet.

rain NEG-vbzr-INCH
'It is not raining yet.'
The rain is about to start but has not started yet. The process (raining) cannot be negated before it has started. Therefore negated inchoative is used.

```
12.19 dzaa-p-Y phu-mu di-ki 'mat-&i
    king-M1-GEN daughter-F1 DEF-ERG NEG-die[IMP]
    'mat-кi 'mat-si
    NEG-die[IMP] NEG-die[IMP]
    \eta-e tam '6et jon trhi-pa bet. (TE21)
    1SG-ERG speech speak intend say-NMLZ;Q AUX
    'Then the princess said:"Do not die! Do not die! Do not die! I am going to tell the
story.'
```

The one who had tied a rope around his neck badly wanted to know the story of the princess and this was the only way he could force the princess to tell. The verb 'si 'to die' of course is an unvolitional verb of type R1 which cannot be used in imperative. However the same verb when an instrument case marked instrument role is added means to commit suicide which is a volitional verb, roo ran-si-ki 'si-son'he died by himself, he committed suicide'. Hence the negated imperative may be used.

```
12.20 u-ki \eta-e kett6a 'ha
    that-ERG 1SG-GEN language aud.impact
    mit-khoo-ken bet.
    NEG-hear;understand-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
    'He does not understand my talk or my language.'
```


## Negating speaker/hearer's direct experience

12.21 toto
e.brother
'Elder brother didn't come while I was at home.'
Speaker is the experiencer of the non-event of arrival which means that he was at home when the brother was supposed to come home. This negation marker occurs only in connection with this particular evidentiality strategy, see more in chapter 13.1.1.

```
12.22 \etaа-la duksi noj-ťu\eta.
    1SG-DAT hardship experience-PST.EXP
    'I experienced hardships'. Or: 'I had tough time.'
```

12.23 ya-la duksi noj-mon.
1SG-DAT hardship experience-NEG.PST.EXP
'I experienced no hardships.'

## Negated existentials, clause types BR1 and BR2

When we look at the tables $12.14-15$ we see that the negative prefixes have merged in very complex ways with existentials and copular verbs. There are few examples of that below:

| 12.24 | 'thonpa'khimki loo-na <br> plough <br> house-GEN beside-IN <br>  <br> 'The plough is not beside the house.' | min-tuk. <br> NEG-EXIST.VIS |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |

### 12.25 ja-la 't6hampa jøt.

1SG-DAT flu EXIST.EXP
'I have a cold.'
12.26 ŋa-la 't6hampa mit.

1SG-DAT flu NEG.EXIST.EXP
'I have no cold.'
This is the merger of mit- + jøt.

| 12.27 | gotta-la 'khim toik | jøk-ken | bet. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 3SG-DAT house INDF | EXIST-NMLZ;CONJ | AUX |
|  | He has a house. Or: 'He owns a house.' |  |  |

$\begin{array}{lllll}12.28 & \text { gotta-la } & \text { 'khim tsik } & \text { mip-pa } & \text { bet. } \\ & \text { 3SG-DAT } & \text { house INDF } & \text { NEG.EXIST-NMLZ;Q } & \text { AUX }\end{array}$
'He does not have a house.'
Note the merger of the negative prefix to the verb root jøt. Speaker is basing his statement on general knowledge. This is either a negated past perfect existential or negated nonpast existential. The previous would communicate parenthetical information in a discourse. The latter would be ordinary negated existential. There is more about this particular negated existential in chapter 14.2.3 on tense.

Negated copular verbs, clause type R1
12.29 'aku 'Ihakpa pempu bet.
uncle Lhakpa headman COP
'Uncle Lhakpa is the headman.'
A copula with predicate noun.

### 12.30 'aku 'Ihakpa pempu mem-pet. <br> uncle Lhakpa headman NEG-COP <br> 'Uncle Lhakpa is not the headman.'

12.31 ја pempu hin.

1SG headman COP.EXP
'I am the headman.'

### 12.32 ŋа pempu men.

1SG headman NEG.COP.EXP
'I am not the headman.'
12.33 'aku wantsin pempu hin-køppet.
uncle Wantsin headman COP.EXP-INFER
'Uncle Wantsin seems to be the headman.' Or: 'In my opinion...
Speaker infers this statement from circumstances, see more about this on evidentiality in chapter 13.

### 12.34 'aku wantsin pempu men-køppet. <br> uncle Wantsin headman NEG.COP.EXP-INFER <br> 'Uncle Wantsin seems not to be the headman.' Or: 'In my opinion...

## Backward spreading of negation

The scope of negation in Lhomi typically covers the verb (and the clause if it is the main verb) which is negated. I have seen couple of times when the negative prefix seems to be in a "wrong place". Newar language reportedly has the same sort of phenomenon, (see Hale, Austin and Kedar P. Shrestha. 2006, Newār (Nepāl Bhāsā). [Languages of the World/Materials 256], München: Lincom Europa:187). Consider the following example which is from a Lhomi historical narrative:

### 12.35 'ju di 'thon-ni pupu tsyntsun 'lipm-e iki di turquois DEF see-NFNT2 pupu tsynt6ung lipma-ERG writing DEF

'thak-ki iki di 'phii-na 'mat-luk-pa
blood-GEN writing DEF wipe.off-NFNT1 NEG-put-NMLZ;Q
'lop 'amtek-la 'luk taj-a bet. (TE17)
folding-DAT put IMMED-NMLZ;Q AUX
'When Pupu Cynt6ung Lipma saw the turquois, he did not wipe off the writing on it, the blood writing on it but put it quickly into his coat folding.'

Lit. 'When Pupu Cyntcung Lipma saw the turquois, he did not put it into his coat folding wiping off the writing on it, the blood writing on it.'

The negation clearly covers also the preceding verb 'to wipe' and not only the verb 'to put.' In this particular case the reason for the placement of the negative may be that the contrastive reading of these coordinate clauses requires the negated verb which also marks the contrastive 'but' relation, see more in 17.5.1.

There is more about backward spreading in chapter on negativity and same subject in 17.2.7.

The next example has a double negative which is not uncommon in Lhomi. The final clause is a headless subject relative clause which further highlights the speaker's argument. Negation covers only the finite clause. The negated relative clause is the predicate nominal of the negated copular clause:

```
12.36 'khit-ra\eta-la y-e senton tshi-na
    2PL-self-DAT 1SG-ERG exploit do;vbzr-NFNT1
    mit-nen-ken men. (=mit+hin) (TE58)
```

    NEG-obey-NMLZ;CONJ NEG.COP.EXP
    'I am not one who does not obey you as a means of exploiting you.'
    Speaker refutes the potential argument that may arise in the minds of his listeners. He is refusing to take part in certain community rituals which require payment. However it is not to gain anything for himself. Double negative makes it a strong assertion.

## Question word negation

The following clause has no negation markers and yet it clearly is negated:

| $\mathbf{1 2 . 3 7}$ | り-e hi-ki 'kheta hi-ko $\quad$ khant-e 'thek-t6e. |
| :--- | :--- |
|  | 1SG-ERG this-GEN load this-head what-INS be.able.carry-SBJV |
| 'Lit. With what should I be able to carry this load?' Or: 'No way I am able to carry |  |

The question word marks this as a rhetorical question though it comes across as an assertion.

### 12.5 Suppletive causatives

Lhomi has pairs of verb roots in which morphophonemic differences correlate with differences in transitivity. Maibaum \& Strahm report about Jirel verbs "...the less transitive verb always carries an aspirated voiceless consonant (with one exception), whereas the more transitive verb member has either an unaspirated voiced or unaspirated voiceless consonant." (Maibaum Anita \& Esther Strahm. 1999. Verb Pairs in Jirel, In Yogendra P. Yadava and Warren W. Glover, eds. Topics in Nepalese linguistics. Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy:104)

The next chart lists some of those pairs but is not meant to be exhaustive. It is a sub-class of verbs which participate in this. When looking at the table 12.16 Lhomi seems to have "Jirel type" verb pairs. In the upper part of the chart there are two exceptions which do not have aspiration, bar and dii. In the "more transitive verb roots" column (right hand) all except one begin with unaspirated voiceless stop. This also seems to be like in Jirel. However the change of the root vowel and the dropping of the final consonant are not predictable. When moving in the chart from "more transitive" to less transitive sometimes the tense register becomes lax and sometimes it remains the same.

When looking at the lower part of the chart 12.16 the affricates behave the same way as the stops in the upper part, less transitive ones have aspiration, whereas the more transitive ones are all unaspirated affricates. The voice register does not change. Further
down the chart there are no changes in initial consonants but voice register seems to change in the process except in one case, the very last one, 'so and 'sø.

I conclude that the exact changes which take place in moving from more transitive to less transitive verb pairs are unpredictable in Lhomi.

It is important to note that verb roots do not change when causativized by the causative manipulation verb tsyt which I have treated in section 17.3.1. Table 12.16 lists some suppletive causatives in Lhomi and examples follow.

Table 12.16 Suppletive causatives
Less transitive More transitive

| Verb roots <br> with initial <br> stops | English meaning | Verb roots <br> with initial <br> stops | English meaning |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| khen | become full | ken | fill up |
| khok | be removed | kok | pluck, remove |
| khuk | become bent | kuk | bend something |
| khap | land on, fall on | kop | place something |
| 'khøt | become appointed | køt | appoint |
| 'khø | become boiled | køt | boil water |
| khøn | wear clothing | køn | dress someone |
| phi | become open | pik | open up |
| 'phok | fall on | pok | lift and remove |
| bar | be burned | por | burn |
| phap | descend | pop | take down |
| phrt | become apart | prt | set apart |
| 'phøt | become spilled | pøt | spill |
| 'phø | be changed | pøt | change |
| 'the | become weighed | tek | weigh |
| 'thor | be scattered | tor | sprinkle, toss |
| 'thøn | appear, come out | tøn | pull out |
| dii | trip | tii | push down |
| the | become apart | tø | take apart |
| 'thøt | receive from someone | tøt | give to someone |
| tham | become spread | tom | spread |
| thup | be accomplished | dup | accomplish |
|  |  |  |  |
| Verb roots <br> with other <br> initial <br> consonants | English meaning | Verb roots with <br> other initial <br> consonants | English meaning |
|  |  |  |  |


| 'tshir | become pressed | tsir | press down something |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 'tshø | become cooked | tsøt | cook |
| tshyt | become inluded | 'tshyt | include |
| 'trhet | become torn | t6øt | cut, tear off |
| 'tr6hur | be cornered | tsur | corner someone |
| ip | be hidden | 'ip | gather for hiding |
| Ion | get up | 'loy | raise |
| lok | go back | 'lok | return something |
| „а⿱ | become ignited | 'クak | ignite |
| naa | go to sleep | 'naa | put to sleep |
| nup | become invaded | 'nup | invade |
| ram | to collapse | 'ram | to tear down |
| 'sø | survive | 'so | raise up children etc |
| 6ik | become untied | 'sik | untie something |

The following examples illustate some of the verb pairs listed in the table 12.16 above. Verb roots are underlined and the verb root type codings, e.g. Vr1 refer to the tables 12.2-12 which chart the morphophonemic changes in verb roots:
12.38 daku
friend
'The friend woke up.'
12.39 gott-e daku 'lon-son. ( $\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{r} 1}$ )

3SG-ERG friend wake.up-PST.VIS
'He woke up the friend.'
lon-son. ( $\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{r} 1}$ ) wake.up-PST.VIS '’

| 12.40 | daku dii-son. $\left(V_{\mathrm{d} 1}\right)$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| friend | trip-PST.VIS |
| 'The friend tripped on ground.' |  |

12.41 | gott-e | daku | tii-son. $\quad\left(\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{d} 1}\right)$ |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 3SG-ERG | friend | push.down-PST.VIS |

'He pushed the friend down.' Or:'He made the friend to trip.'
12.42 phitsa
child
'The child went to bed. '
naa-son. $\quad\left(V_{d 1}\right)$
go.to.sleep-PST.VIS
12.43 'am-e
mother-ERG
child
phitsa 'naa-son. ( $\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{d} 1}$ ) put.to.sleep-PST.VIS

```
12.44 mirek bar-son. ( }\mp@subsup{\textrm{V}}{11}{
    large.fire burn-PST.VIS
    'A large fire got burning.
12.45 \begin{tabular}{lll} 
gott-e & mirek & par-son. \(\left(V_{r 3}\right)\) \\
& 3SG-ERG & large.fire
\end{tabular}
    'He ignited a large fire.'
```

12.46 tossan
aluminium.pot
'The aluminium pot became full.'
khen-son. ( $\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{r} 1}$ )
become.full-PST.VIS

```
12.47 gott-e tossan ken-son. ( \(\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{r} 1}\) )
3SG-ERG aluminium.pot fill.up-PST.VIS 'He filled the aluminium pot.'
```

12.48 'tshu
water
'Water was spilled.'
12.49 na引tsaŋ-ki
wife-ERG
'The wife spilled the water.'

```
12.50 'nuku gamtuk-ki 'thok-la 'thøn-son. ( \(\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{r} 1}\) )
pen small.box-GEN on.top-DAT appear-PST.VIS
'The pen showed up on the top of a box.'
Pen may have been lost and suddenly is found on top of a box.
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
12.51 & Ə-e & 'nuku & gamtuk-ni & tøm-pen. & \(\left(\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{r} 1}\right)\) \\
& 1SG-ERG & pen small.box-ABL & pull.out-1PST & \\
& I pulled the pen out from a box.' & &
\end{tabular}
12.52 gottsa
phi-son. ( \(\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{d} 1}\) )
door
become.open-PST.VIS
'The door became open by itself.'
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
12.53 & Ə-e & gottsa & pik-pen. & \(\left(V_{r 1}\right)\) \\
& 1SG-ERG door & open-1PST & \\
& \multicolumn{1}{l}{ I opened the door.' } & &
\end{tabular}
12.54 'tshu
'khø-son
\(\left(\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{d} 1}\right)\)
water
'The water boiled.'
12.55 gott-e 'tshu kø-son. \(\left(\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{a} 1}\right)\)

3SG-ERG water boil-PST.VIS
'He made the water boil.' Or: 'He boiled the water.'
12.56 ' \(6 a\)
'the-son.
\(\left(\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{d} 1}\right)\)
meat
become.weighed-PST.VIS
'The meat was weighed.'
\begin{tabular}{llll}
12.57 & gott-e \(\quad\) '6a \(\quad\) tek-son. & \(\left(\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{r} 1}\right)\) \\
& 3SG-ERG meat weigh-PST.VIS & \\
& 'He weighed the meat.'
\end{tabular}
12.58 tuwa
porridge
'The porridge became cooked.'
In other words it is done, ready for eating.
12.59 万-e tuwa tsø-pen. \(\left(\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{a} 1}\right)\)

1SG-ERG porridge cook-1PST
'I cooked the porridge.'
12.60 'suku
'tches-son.
\(\left(V_{r 1}\right)\)
paper
'The paper got torn.'
12.61 dak-Y '6uku t6es-son. ( \(\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{r} 2}\) )
friend-ERG paper tear.up-PST.VIS
'The friend tore up the paper.'
12.62 'surti-la mi jaa-son. ( \(\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{d} 1}\) )
cigarette-DAT fire get.lighted-PST.VIS
'The cigarette got lit.'
12.63 у-e 'surti-la mi 'yaa-pen. \(\quad\left(\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{a} 1}\right)\) 1SG-ERG cigarette-DAT fire light-1PST
'I lit the fire to the cigarette.' Or:'I lit the cigarette.'

\subsection*{12.6 Agreement patterns on finite verbs}

Inflectional suffixes on finite verbs turned out to be more complex than we first realized. What we earlier described as a role of an experiencer is more thoroughly treated
in this paper under the evidentiality strategies and direct evidentials in chapter 13. In this current section I only introduce some of the more straight forward agreement markings of the semantic role of an agent in Lhomi verbs.

The agreement is marked in the finite verb with cross reference to an agent. It means that the subject/agent governs the verb of the clause. This agreement pattern results in two different kinds of verb forms which are usually called conjunct and disjunct. I mark the finite suffix for conjunct NMLZ;CONJ and leave the disjunct forms unmarked.

\subsection*{12.6.1 Conjunct/disjunct agreement patterns}

Ellen Bartee quotes from R. Hargreaves for the following necessary conditions in which conjunct verb forms appear:
" 1 . the clause is finite, and
2. the event being described is interpreted as involving an intentional action by the actor and
3. the speech act is either
a) declarative first person or
b) interrogative second person or
c) reported speech when the matrix clause subject and complement clause subject are coreferential." (Bartee, Ellen Lynn. 2005. Role of Animacy in the Verbal Morphology of Dongwang Tibetan. UCSB SIL:2)

Keeping in mind the definition above I have left the experiencer related markings that occur in finite verbs for the section on evidentials where they rightfully belong to, chapter 13.

The agreement pattern related to an agent only occurs with finite agentive verbs in Lhomi. First person agent/subject agrees with the nonpast conjunct verb form in a declarative clause and a second person agent/subject agrees with the nonpast conjunct verb form in an interrogative clause. All other persons are disjunct forms which are left unmarked in this wite-up. In the past tense forms of agentive verbs there is no conjunct/disjunct pattern. Neither does it happen with non-agentive verbs nor existentials or copulars.

The following examples illustrate this agreement pattern. Verbal markers are underlined. Second person interrogative has the conjunct marker only in nonpast verb forms. More recent writers have used the term egophoricity for this grammatical feature, (see Jalava Lotta \& Sandman Erika. June 2012. "The E-categories":Defining evidentiality in relation to egophoricity and epistemic modality. University of Helsinki.)

Table 12.17 Conjunct /disjunct marking on finite agentive verbs
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|l|l|}
\hline Person & \begin{tabular}{l} 
NPST \\
declarative
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
PST \\
declarative
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
NPST \\
interrogative
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
PST \\
interrogative
\end{tabular} \\
\hline 1. & \begin{tabular}{l}
-ken \\
NMLZ;CONJ
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l}
-pen \\
1PST
\end{tabular} & bet & -pa bet \\
\hline 2. & -ken & -ken & =pa \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|l|ll|ll|l|ll|}
\hline & \(-N M L Z ; C O N J\) & AUX & -NMLZ;Q AUX & -NMLZ;CONJ.Q & -NMLZ;Q \\
\hline 3. & \(-k e n\) & bet & -pa & bet & -ken & bek=ka & -pa \\
& -NMLZ;CONJ & AUX & -NMLZ;Q & AUX & -NMLZ;CONJ AUX=Q & -NMLZ;Q AUX=Q \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

In bi-transitive verbs
Conjunct markers are underlined:
Interrogative conjunct, clause type BT1
12.64 'khok-ki dortsi-la ra tsik tson-ken? Or... tson-ke?

2SG-ERG dortsi-DAT goat INDF sell-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
'Do you sell a goat to Dortsi? Will you sell a goat to Dortsi?'
The marker in the finite verb of this question looks like the one in the next example. However the final syllable of this question is phonologically stressed and there is rising intonation. Otherwise there are no morphological markers to mark it as a question.

Declarative conjunct, clause type BT1
\begin{tabular}{llcccc}
12.65 & リ-e & dortsi-la & ra & tsik & tson-ken. \\
& 1SG-ERG & dortsi-DAT & goat & INDF & sell-NMLZ;CONJ
\end{tabular}
‘! will sell a goat to Dortsi’. Or: ‘! sell a goat to Dortsi.’
This could be an answer to 12.64 . Typically it would be a shorter, just the verb tson-ken with the conjunct markings.

Negated answer to 12.64, 1.person negated nonpast

\subsection*{12.66 'mit-tson.}

NEG-sell[NPST]
'I will not sell.' Or: ‘d do not sell.'
This is the standard way to reply to the question above. Only affirmative answer gets the first person (conjunct) marker -ken. There is no grammatical marker to mark 12.66 as 1.person, yet it is undoubtedly. I have called it NEG-V[NPST]. This applies to all agentive verbs in Lhomi.

Examples 12.64-65 illustrate the kind of conjunct/disjunct pattern Lhomi has. I will show that in the evidentiality system Lhomi has some traces of conj/disjunct patterns but it is the source of information which dominates and rules over the whole grammar.

Declarative disjunct, clause type BT1


Interrogative disjunct, clause type BT1
12.68 'aku 'tshiriy-ki \(\quad\)-e toto-la
uncle 'tshiring-ERG 1SG-GEN brother-DAT
ra trik tson-ken bek=ka?
goat INDF sell-NMLZ;CONJ AUX=Q
'Does uncle Chiring sell a goat to my brother?'
Speaker draws from general factual knowledge. Speaker assumes that the hearer does not have any other source of information.

Interrogative 2.person past, clause type BT1
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
12.69 & 'khok-ki & dortsi-la & ra tsik & \(\underline{\text { tson=a? }}\) \\
& 2SG-ERG & Dortsi-DAT & goat & INDF & sell=Q \\
& 'Did you sell Dortsi a goat?' & &
\end{tabular}

There is audible phonological stress on the final syllable which is the question marker. It is not the question marker alone that marks this as a second person question. The question marker is the same throughout the inflectional paradigm, only morphophonemic changes occur. However when it is attached to the past root of an agentive verb the resulting structure is past second person question.

Negated interrogative 2.person past
\begin{tabular}{cccccc}
12.70 & 'khok-ki & dortsi-la & ra & tsik & \\
& 'mat-tson=a? \\
& 2SG-ERG & dortsi-DAT & goat & INDF & NEG-sell=Q \\
& 'Did you not sell a goat to Dortsi?'
\end{tabular}

Declarative 1.person past, clause type BT1
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 12.71 & n-e & dortsi-la & ra & trik & tson-en. \\
\hline & 1SG-ERG & dortsi-DAT & goat & INDF & sell-1PST \\
\hline & 'I sold a go & t to Dortsi.' & & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

As can be seen in these examples the past tense forms do not participate in this agreement scheme, only the nonpast forms.

Negated 1.person past, answer to 12.69 or to 12.70

\subsection*{12.72 'mat-tson.}

NEG-sell[PST]
'I didn't sell.'
This is a typical answer to the question in 12.69. Morphologically this is exactly like the negated imperative:'do not sell!' However the context helps to sort it out, even though this particular verb root does not participate in vowel changing scheme.

Interrogative 1.person past, clause type BT1
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
12.73 & n-e & dortsi-la & ra & tsik & tson-son=a \\
1SG-ERG & dortsi-DAT & goat & INDF & sell-PST.VIS=Q & or
\end{tabular}

Speaker has forgotten and asks someone else to tell. He may have been drunk at the time. Speaker has to use evidential which here implies that the hearer has seen the event which he himself cannot remember. This is the only kind of first person question that makes sense.

\section*{In other agentive verbs}

Interrogative 2. person past, clause type ST1

\subsection*{12.74 'khøt jampu-la 'phim=pa? \\ 2SG Kathmandu-DAT go.come[PST]=Q \\ 'Did you go to Kathmandu?}

Declarative 1.person past, clause type ST1, affirmative answer to 12.74
12.75 ја jampu-la 'phim-pen.

1SG Kathmandu-DAT go.come[PST]-1PST
‘I went to Kathmandu.’
Typically only verb occurs in an answer like this, 'phim-pen.

Negated declarative 1.person past, an answer to 12.74
12.76 'mat-phin.

NEG-go.come[PST]
'I did not go to Kathmandu.'
This is just like in 12.72. The verb has past tense root and therefore it would not qualify for a negated imperative.

Interrogative, 3.person past
\(\begin{array}{rlll}12.77 & \text { 'aku passan jampu-la } & \text { 'phim-pa } & \text { bek=ka? } \\ \text { uncle passang home-DAT } & \text { go.come[PST]-NMLZ;Q AUX=Q }\end{array}\)
'Did uncle Passang go to Kathmandu (and come back)?'
Examples 12.74-76 show that there is no agreement pattern with the past tense forms.

Declarative 1.person nonpast, clause type ST1
```

12.78 ŋа jampu-la do-ken.
1SG Kathmandu-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ
'l'll go to Kathmandu.' Or:'I go to Kathmandu.'

```

Interrogative 2.person nonpast
12.79 'khøt jampu-la \(\quad\) do-ken? ...do-ke?

2SG Kathmandu-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
'Will you go to Kathmandu?’ Or: ‘Do you go to Kathmandu?'
The examples 12.78-79 qualify for conjunct forms. The verb is agentive and the tense is nonpast.

Negated 2.person interrogative
12.80 'khøt jampu-la mit-do-ken?

2SG Kathmandu-DAT NEG-go-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
'Do you not go to Kathmandu?'

Negated declarative 1.person, answer to 12.79 or to 12.80

\subsection*{12.81 mit-do.}

NEG-go[NPST]
II do not go to Kathmandu.'
There is no morpheme in this clause that marks it as negated 1.person nonpast. The anticipated negated answer *mit-do-ken is not acceptable as a finite verb but is acceptable as negated headless subject relative clause, 'one who does not go', see more about relative clauses in chapter 16.1.

Just for the sake of interest I give an example of this same conjunct marker used with a non-agentive verb:

\subsection*{12.82 ran pakka-la 'mit-thøn-na ja 'okma-la 'thakpa taa-na}

2SG outside-DAT NEG-come.out-NFNT1 1SG neck-DAT rope tie.up-NFNT1
'si do-ken sin-na uu 'thakpa taa-pa bet
die go-NMLZ;CONJ say-NFNT1 frustr. rope tie.up-NMLZ;Q AUX
'okma di-la. (TE21)
neck DEF-DAT
'"If you do not come outside, I am going to tie a rope around my neck and die." Or:
'... I am going to commit suicide by tying a rope around my neck.'
We all know that 'to die' is not an intentional verb. However it is not difficult to realize that in this example the reference is to suicide, an intentional act. The character of this story did not have real intention to die but this was a threat to force the princess to tell her story.

If someone yields to the idea that he is not going to recover but is going to have a natural death he would say:
\begin{tabular}{l}
12.83 'jak harin na '6i-ken \(\quad\) pet. \\
SAP today 1SG die-NMLZ;CONJ AUX \\
' have accepted that I will die today.' \\
\multicolumn{2}{l}{ Note that the conjunct verb form is not used. Speaker is terminally sick. }
\end{tabular}

\section*{An alternative way to analyze conj marker -ken}

The marker -ken which marks the conjunct for agentive verbs in examples 12.7880 also nominalizes verbs of almost any type. I have called it subject nominalization. There is more about that in chapter 16 on relative clauses.

Actually the fact that -ken is a verb nominalizer would give another way to analyze the examples which I have given to illustrate conj/disj patterns, 12.64-65,78-80. I repeat couple of them here to illustrate what I mean.

Declarative 1.person nonpast, clause type ST1
12.84 ја jampu-la do-ken. (repeated from 12.78)

1SG Kathmandu-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ
'l'll go to Kathmandu.' Or:'I go to Kathmandu.'
If we interprete the morpheme -ken as a verb nominalizer only, then this example would translate like 'I am the one going to Kathmandu.' Or: 'I am the one who goes to Kathmandu.'

Interrogative 2.person nonpast
12.85 'khøt jampu-la do-ken? (repeated from 12.79) Or: ...do-ke?

2SG Kathmandu-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
'Will you go to Kathmandu?' Or: 'Do you go to Kathmandu?'
The new gloss for this would be simply 'Are you the one going to Kathmandu?'

\subsection*{12.86 ŋа [nitøa-ray-la t6ham-sim 'khur-ken] hin.}

1SG 2SG[HON]-self-DAT love-mind carry-NMLZ COP.EXP
'I love you.' Lit. 'I am the one who has internal love towards you.'
This illustration comes from the Lhomi Bible and the addressee is God. The verb is agentive though the content is internal attitude. First person is coded in the copular verb hin. Square brackets indicate the nominalized clause which is headless relative clause and the predicate nominal of the copular verb. It is obvious that the shorter form 'khur-ken which I have interpreted as conjunct has come from the longer VP 'khur-ken hin. To use the latter one is to highlight the speaker. There is another handicap in this new interpretation. If do-ken is a nominalized verb then where is the main verb of the clause? There is none. The grammatically fully developed clause like 12.86 is very rare compared to an ellipsis like 12.84 which is extremely common. There are more examples of copular clauses in section 16.1.2 which talks about headless relative clauses.

In the new interpretation the example 12.67 would be structurally also a copular clause that has bet as the main verb. The rest of the clause would be a predicate nominal and the new translation would be: 'Uncle Chiring is the one who sells (or will sell) a goat to my elder brother.' Semantically this analysis seems to be OK because the copular verb bet refers to generally known facts, see section 13.2.5. This kind of analysis would do away completely with the sub-category conj/disj or egophoricity in Lhomi grammar.

In conclusion I argue that Lhomi does not have a fully developed conj/disj patterns like many other related languages do. Some linguists e.g. Erika Sandman from the University of Helsinki call it egophoricity or egoevidentiality and make it a sub-category of evidentiality (Jalava Lotta \& Sandman Erika. June 2012. "The E-categories":Defining evidentiality in relation to egophoricity and epistemic modality. University of Helsinki.) In Lhomi only agentive verbs in nonpast tense have this grammatical sub-system. In section 13. on evidentials I will show conj/disj type patternings in relation to direct experience but that does not meet the criteria of the definition I have quoted at the beginning of the current section.

\subsection*{12.7 Verb phrase and auxiliaries}

Verb phrase in Lhomi includes the grammatical head followed by up to three auxiliaries. If there is an auxiliary the clitics follow that and finally post-verbal particles. As for those elements of a VP that precede the head I have included predicate nominal, predicate adjectival and APs which modify the head. Those verbal complements that are arguments of the head have been treated in section on complement clause in 17.3.

Copular verb hin/bet may occur as an auxiliary but existentials jøt/duk never do. There are some examples which seem to argue against this claim. Consider the following:

\subsection*{12.87 nik-ki 'khimtsi 'lit \\ 1PL.EXCL-GEN neighbour arrive[PST] \\ jøt-to. (from 17.90)}
'Our neighbour may have arrived. 'Or: 'Our neighbour probably has arrived.'
I believe that this is a grammaticalized form of the periphrastic perfect 'lit-na jøt-to. Though the non-finite verbal suffix has been dropped it is still periphrastic perfect like in examples \(17.88,90-91\). In other words the existential is not an auxiliary here but the main verb in serial chaining.

The tree diagram 12.18 gives an idea what Lhomi verb phrase looks like when a copular verb is the head. I have excluded the existential verbs here because at the phrase level they behave very much the same way as the copular hin/bet.

Table 12.18 Finite verb phrase with a copula as its head


In the tree diagram 12.18 only some suffixes, clitics and particles are listed. Not all combinations listed in the table are allowed. Only the verb head is obligatory, all other elements are optional. Only one auxiliary may occur. The following examples illustrate this particular kind of Lhomi verb phrase (VP is in square brackets):
12.88 nit ['thapmu 'tshi-jaa hin. ] (2.15 repeated here)

1PL.EXCL 'thangmu 'tchi-HUM2 COP.EXP
'We are people of 'thanmu 't6hi village.'
The pronoun is the subject and next two words form a predicate nominal, NP.
12.89 'si-na 'khur-ni kantsi tsik 'thik-pa bet.
die-NFNT1 carry-NFNT2 second.wife INDF marry-NMLZ;Q AUX
kantsi di [ 'rimmu hiŋ-køp-pa bet.] (TE41)
second.wife DEF cannibal COP-PROG;EXP-NMLZ;Q AUX
'After his wife died he married a second wife. The second wife was or had been a cannibal.'

I have repeated here the example 14.72 to illustrate the copular head with an auxiliary. This sentence gives parenthetical (background) information about the villain of the story. There are more examples of VPs that have copular verb as head in 13.39-43,13.87,94-95.

Table 12.19 Finite past verb phrase and auxiliaries


The first observation about the table 12.19 is that up to three auxiliaries may occur in a Lhomi VP. This table basically gives the order of various elements of VP. The past root may occur alone but all other elements are optional. The examples 12.90-91 illustrate
the finite verb phrase which also has past verb root. 12.89 illustrates predicate nominal. VP is in square brackets in all these examples.

The auxiliary ton has also all kinds of uses as a main verb, see section 12.2. As a main verb it gets the lexical content typically from its object argument and it usually refers to an action of moving a thing from one place to another, e.g. sending a letter or making a phone call etc. There are exceptions.

Table 12.19 has another auxiliary 'tshar which marks completive aspect, see also section 15.4.3. As an auxiliary it only marks the completive aspect and the lexical meaning comes from the main verb. When 'tshar is the main verb it refers to falling unintentionally from a higher place to lower, e.g. from a tree to ground.
12.90 pemp-r 'kha-la nen-tse sin-na ka
headman-GEN mouth-DAT obey-SBJV say-NFNT1 CEP
pempu [ kø-pa hin-to nani.] (TE46)
headman appoint-NMLZ;Q AUX-PROB CONFIRM

However you have probably appointed the leader for the very purpose to be the one whom you should obey, haven't you.'

This is from a speech in which the village leader speaks to obstinate villagers who do not obey him. This VP has only one auxiliary and one post verbal particle.
```

12.91 'lama di 'ni ran bet si-kuk
lama DEF DM 2SG COP say-PROG;VIS
'joymmaa di-ki 'lama di hi-ko bet sin-na
another DEF-ERG lama DEF this-head COP say-NFNT1
['sep-pa hi\eta-køp-pa bet.]
tell-NMLZ;Q AUX-PROG;EXP-NMLZ;Q AUX

```
    '6et-ni pulis mi=ran thuk-ki doli-la 'luk-na
    tell-NFNT2 police man=FOC six-ERG carrying.chair-DAT put-NFNT1
    'khur-a bet lo. (TE18)
    carry-NMLZ;Q AUX DISCL
    "You are the lama", they said. Someone had told earlier the police saying:"This is
the lama." Then six policemen put him into a carrying chair and took him away'.
    This example has two auxiliaries.

'Putting up with it I'll sit down.'
This is from a dream in which the speaker is harassed and he decides to put up with it. Note that the tense of the clause is nonpast but the root of the main verb (det) is past. It is the auxiliary that has the 1.person NPST marking and what marks the immediacy of the action of sitting down. It has no lexical content here.
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
12.93 & u-ki & mi u-ko & [thim-si & dzuu-son.] \\
& that-GEN & man that-head & buy.sell-INTNS run[PST]-PST.VIS
\end{tabular}
'That man ran really fast.'
Table 12.20 Finite imperative and hortative verb phrases


Table 12.20 tells us the following:
-NP never occurs in pre-head position because typically it is the object argument of the verb.
-There are fewer clitics and particles that combine with imperative finite verb.
-NEG prefix is morphologically same as the one combining with past roots.
The following examples which are taken from section 15.5 illustrate the table 12.20 (VP in square brackets):
12.94 'aku dzentsel-la ['ensuk-la puu-let.] (TE4), repeated from 15.141 uncle dzentsen-DAT first-DAT offer-SCI
'Serve uncle Jyentsen first!'
Speaker gives an order to one of the servants in the party of his house dedication.
12.95 'sa nakpu ['mat-tøn-tcit] repeated from 15.167
soil black NEG-turn.around-IMP2
'Do not do any field work!' Lit.: 'Do not turn around any black soil!'
The village leader is giving his instructions to all villagers for a religious holiday. He shouts it with a loud voice from his own yard. It is a reminder since most people know that on such a day no field work is allowed.
12.96 duy 'tshi-jaa hi-ko [thyt-toj.] (TE4) repeated from 15.156
wooden.plank big-COMP2 this-head drag[PST]-1PL.HORT
'Let us drag this bigger plank!'

Speaker tells this to all workmen who are building a house. Large planks are dragged on ground by several men.
```

12.97 y-e alin [taa-ki.] repeated from 15.157
1SG-ERG corn grind[PST]-1SG.HORT

```
    'Let me grind some corn!'

\subsection*{12.8 Verb phrase and its complements}

In this section I talk about the kinds of complements that are part of the verbal phrase, namely predicate nominals, predicate adjectivals and adverbs that modify the verb. In section 17.3 on complement clause I will include clause and sentence complements. VP is in square brackets in the following examples:

\section*{Predicate nominals and predicate adjectives with copular verb}

Predicate nominal
12.98 'aku 'Ihakpa [ pempu bet.] (from 14.42)
uncle Lhakpa headman COP
'Uncle Lhakpa is the headman.'
Predicate nominal with copula may be a nominalized clause or a relative clause
too.

Predicate nominal
12.99 ya [na-ken

1SG get.sick-NMLZ;CONJ
hin-køppet.] ( from 16.11)
'I think I am [one who is sick]. Or: I feel [one who is sick].'
Headless relative clause (na-ken) is the predicate nominal in this one.

Predicate adjective
12.100 ŋа ['khe-si hin.] (from 14.44)

1SG skill-INTNS COP.EXP
'I am very smart/skilled'

Predicate adjectives with existential verbs
Predicate adjective
\(\begin{array}{ccc}12.101 \text { na } & \text { ['thanpuwa } & \text { jøt.] ( from 13.36) } \\ \text { 1SG } & \text { healthy } & \text { EXIST.EXP }\end{array}\)
'I am well.' Or: 'I am healthy.’
This is a predicate adjective. Existentials in Lhomi may be used also in equative clause like this one.

Predicate adjective
12.102 jampu-la
Kathmandu-DAT now be.cold-INTNS
duk. ] (TE97)
EXIST.VIS
'It is now very cold in Kathmandu.'

\section*{Predicate nominals with other verb types}
12.103 roo-la tøntok ['lo le-son.]

3SG-DAT harvest will become.left-EXP.VIS
'He had a good harvest.'
In this illustration the verb le without the nominal complement is a non-agentive verb of BR2 type. It is relatively rare to have predicate nominals with other than existential and copular verbs

Predicate adjectives and modifying adverbs with other verb types
12.104 roo-so [tcan-si tohi-na] tap-son.

3SG-PL1 alertness-INTS do;vbzr-NFNT1 go.away-PST.VIS
'They acted vigilently and went away.' Or:'Acting vigilently they left.'
There is predicate adjective within the medial clause in brackets.
Predicate adjective
12.105 u-ki iki [ 'tshok-pøtma thi-ken bet.]
that-ERG letter moment-ADJVZ write-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'He writes the characters/letters very close to each other.'
Adverb modifying the verb
12.106 gottsa di ['tham tret taj-a bet.]
door DEF tightly close IMMED-NMLZ;Q AUX
'He closed the door tightly.'

\section*{Summary of the section 12.8}
-With copular verbs hin/bet predicate nominals and predicate adjectives occur but rarely modifying adverbs.
-With existential verbs jøt/duk only predicate adjectives occur.
-With other verb types predicate adjectives and modifying adverbs occur but rarely predicate nominals. The obvious reason is that NPs typically are clause level verbal arguments.

\section*{13. Evidentials in Lhomi}

Some linguists (e.g. Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald) take the stand that evidentials form a separate grammatical system which stands on its own. She says: "Evidentiality is a grammatical means for marking information source.... so the function of evidentials is to mark how one learnt about something." (Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2004 (reprint Oxford 2009). Evidentiality. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp.365,68,176). Certainly in Lhomi grammatical evidentials have such a dominant role over tense/aspect/modality system that it is justified to treat it on its own. Tense, aspect and evidentiality are so intermingled in

Lhomi that one has to decide which is primarily marked in verbs. Aikhenvald further argues (p.68): "Evidentials are often fused with tense." And she also claims (p. 176): "Languages with large evidential systems tend to have rich verbal morphology." Both of these assertions are true in Lhomi grammar.

The current chapter of this write-up will hopefully give evidence that the dominant/primary system in Lhomi grammar is evidentiality. The data for the current chapter was mostly obtained by elicitation but there are also examples from collected texts, e.g. TE66.

I have included the general factual knowledge as one of the subtypes of direct evidentials, (13.2.5 Assumption based on general knowledge). In finite verbs the markers are -pa bet or -ken bet. I call these two markers -NMLZ;Q AUX and -NMLZ;CONJ AUX. The source of information is a fact which almost everybody is supposed to know.

A Lhomi man first decides in his mind what source he has for his statement or what source his hearer might have when he puts a question to him. Most evidentials may be negated and used in written texts as well. Occasionally evidential markers also occur in nonfinite clauses, see e.g.17.13-16.

\subsection*{13.1 Evidentiality strategies}

Aikhenvald defines evidentiality strategies as follows: "Categories and forms which acquire secondary meanings somehow related with information source are called evidentiality strategies." (Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2004 (reprint Oxford 2009).
Evidentiality. Oxford: Oxford University Press:105) This is what I will treat in the current section. Direct evidentials follow in section 13.2.

Lhomi speaker uses grammatical markers typically in finite verbs to signal his direct experience or participation with the action, motion, event, process or state of affairs. In questions the speaker assumes the same to be true of the hearer. Some of these strategies and direct evidentials may also occur in nonfinite verbs, though more rarely. The following examples illustrate this evidentiality strategy in Lhomi. I intend to cover most clause types listed under Lhomi clause in 14.1. The summaries in the end of each section are not meant to be exhaustive, only those clause types which have been exemplified are included.

Comments follow the English translation which is in italics and in single quotes.

\subsection*{13.1.1 Speaker/hearer's direct experience with the action or the event of a finite verb, which is marked with -toun I-mon}

This is the grammatical marker which signals the speaker's or hearer's direct experience in the action, motion, event or change of state. The finite verb marked with this marker always refers to an event, a change of state or a short span of motion or activity. Another requirement is that the speaker/hearer must also have sensory observation of what he reports. However this evidentiality strategy means more involvement than just sensory observation. As stated earlier this same marker also marks past tense.

Depending on the type of finite verb this marker marks an event, action, motion or a change of state. I call it past tense with speaker/hearer's direct experience or involvement with the event, action, motion or change of state, -tбuŋ PST.EXP. This marker merges with the negative marker and it becomes -mon NEG.PST.EXP. Hari talks also about speaker as experiencer in Yohlmu, ( see Hari, Anna Maria. 2010.Yohlmu Grammar Sketch. SIL International and Central Department of Linguistics Tribhuvan University. Kathmandu:61).

Declarative, clause type BT1
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
13.1 & ajekp-e & lel-la \(\quad\) nitca-ray-ki=ran & 'sip & 'sip \\
& ajekpa-ERG & reply-DAT & \(2 S G[H O N]-s e l f-E R G=F O C ~ t h o r o u g h l y ~ t h o r o u g h l y ~\)
\end{tabular}
tshi-la 'khur-let sit-tsun nani tshi-pa bet. (TE66)
do;vbzr-DAT bring-SCI say-PST.EXP CONFIRM do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Ayekpa replied:"You yourself told me:"Bring every piece of it back!", didn't you?'
The original speech act which the speaker quotes here was directed to the speaker of this statement. Therefore there is no need to use any pronoun, e.g. 'to me'.

Interrogative, clause type BT1
\(\begin{array}{llllll}13.2 & \text { 'aku } & \text { 'tshirin-ki } & \text { ran-la } & \text { ra } & \text { tsik }\end{array} \quad\) tson-tsun=a?
'Did uncle Chiring sell you a goat?'
In this one the speaker assumes that the hearer has bought a goat from uncle Chiring. The hearer rectifies this wrong assumption in 13.3.

Negated declarative, clause type BT1
\(\begin{array}{llllll}13.3 & \text { 'aku } & \text { 'tshirin-ki } & \text { na-la } & \text { ra } & \text { tsik }\end{array} \quad\) tson-mon..
'Uncle Chiring did not sell a goat to me.'
The speaker is the IO of selling. Normally negation in Lhomi is marked by a negative prefix attached to the main verb but here a different marker is suffixed to the main verb. This negation marker -mon negates the affirmative tson-t6un.

Declarative, clause type ST1
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
13.4 & hi-ni & 'sajep-so & 'miki-nala & tshøn-tsun. (TE3) \\
& this-ABL & Sahib-PL1 & distal.remote-ALL & come[HON]-PST.EXP
\end{tabular}

Speaker is reporting his trip down to the river valley to help Sahib. He was waiting for Sahib to come. It was more than just being an eyewitness observer, compare this direct experience with the sensory observation in section 13.2.1

\section*{Table 13.1 Summary of the ways speaker/hearer's direct experience is realized with the agentive finite verbs}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline Declarative & \begin{tabular}{l} 
2 or 3.person agent/subject and the speaker somehow participates in \\
the action or motion of the verb
\end{tabular} \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l} 
Negated \\
declarative
\end{tabular} & 2 or 3.person agent/subject and the speaker negates the event, \\
\hline Interrogative & \begin{tabular}{l} 
3.person agent/subject and the hearer's assumed participation or \\
experience in the action or motion of the verb.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l} 
Negated \\
interrogative
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
3.person agent/subject and the hearer's assumed participation in the \\
negated action or negated motion of the verb.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\section*{Evidentiality strategy of direct experience with some unvolitional verbs of BR}

\section*{type}

Declarative, clause type BR1
\begin{tabular}{llll}
13.5 & n-e \(\quad\) naintsan-la phu tsik & kii-tsun. \\
1SG-GEN wife-DAT son INDF & be.born-PST.EXP \\
& 'A baby boy was born to my wife.'
\end{tabular}

Speaker is the father of the newly born baby and he has seen the event too. The involvement is this time through close kinship relation.

Declarative, clause type BR1
\(\begin{array}{lllll}13.6 & \text { n-e } \quad \text { 'atci-la phu trik } & \text { kii-tgun. } \\ & \text { 1SG-GEN } & \text { e.sister-DAT son INDF } & \text { be.born-PST.EXP }\end{array}\)
'A baby boy was born to my elder sister.'
Speaker has a sister who has delivered a baby boy and he has seen the event of delivery.

Declarative, clause type BR1
\begin{tabular}{llll}
13.7 & na-la & ak phu tsik & kii-tbun: \\
1SG-DAT INCLN son INDF & be.born-PST.EXP
\end{tabular}

Speaker is the father of the baby boy. He would say this if he has also seen the delivery. Speaker may of course be the mother too, but not the mid-wife who has helped in delivery.

Interrogative, clause type BR1
13.8 'khok-ki 'ama-la phu tikik kii-tвun=a.
2SG-GEN mother-DAT son INDF be.born-PST.EXP=Q
'Was a baby-boy born to your mom?'
Speaker assumes that the hearer has seen the event of delivery. Speaker also
knows that the hearer's mother has been expecting a baby. The experience in this case is
through the hearer's close kinship relation.

Declarative, clause type BR3


Declarative, clause type BR3
13.10 ŋа doŋpu-ni 'tshar-tıun.

1SG tree-ABL fall-PST.EXP
'I fell off from a tree.'
The speaker himself has fallen down from a tree.

\section*{Table 13.2 Summary of the ways speaker/hearer's direct experience is realized in finite verbs of types BR1 and BR3}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline Declarative & \begin{tabular}{l} 
1.person dative/subject \\
3.person dative/subject and speaker's kinship/group relation to the 3. \\
person subject or speaker's direct experience with the event of the verb.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l} 
Negated \\
declarative
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
1.person dative/subject and the speaker negates the event. \\
3.person dative/subject and the speaker's kinship/group relation to the \\
3.person subject and speaker negates the event.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline Interrogative & \begin{tabular}{l} 
2.person dative/subject and the hearer's assumed kinship/group relation to \\
the 3.person or assumed direct experience with the event. \\
3.person dative/subject and the hearer's assumed kinship/group relation to \\
the 3.person or hearer's assumed direct experience with the event.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l} 
Negated \\
interrogative
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
2.person dative/subject and the hearer's assumed kinship/group relation to \\
the 3.person or hearer's assumed direct experience with the negated \\
event. \\
3.person dative/subject and the hearer's assumed kinship/group relation to \\
the 3.person or the hearer's assumed direct experience with the negated \\
event.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

It is worth to note that even within these verb subtypes (above) there are differences as to how the experience relation is realized. I mention couple more requirements that are needed before the experience marker -tsuy can be used: -Speaker's kinship relation to the 3.person referent ranks higher than e.g. direct experience of a mid-wife, see the example 13.7.
-Sensory observation is a "must" in addition to experience/participation.

\section*{Evidentiality strategy of direct experience with some unvolitional verbs of R type}

Declarative, clause type R1
13.11 j-e phitsa day na-toun.

1SG-GEN child yesterday become.sick-PST.EXP
'My child became sick yesterday.'
Speaker, the father of the child is involved through kinship and he has also seen the event of the child becoming sick. The illness must have had some visible signs and it is appropriate for the father to use this evidentiality strategy.

The experience marker -tcun always marks an event. In this case it refers to the starting point of illness. The patient may or may not be sick at the time of this speech act. Aikhenvald talks (Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2004 (reprint Oxford 2009).
Evidentiality.Pp.324-25) about verbs of internal state showing interrelationship with the experiencer person.

Declarative, clause type R1
13.12 christmas thup-ni ya na-toun. (TE97)

Christmas finish-NFNT2 1SG become.sick-PST.EXP
'After Christmas had gone I got sick.'
Declarative, clause type R1

In this verb the distinction between assumed hearer's experience and sensory observation is neutralized. Both forms are acceptable.

Declarative, clause type R1


The first one is not acceptable by most Lhomis. Some do accept it, providing that the speaker has been at the death bed when the father dies. The latter of these two examples is the normal way of reporting this event with sensory observation.

Declarative, clause type R2
13.15 'tsheppa dzap-t6un: (TE3)
rain vbzr-PST.EXP
'It rained while I was out.'
Speaker has actually been in the rain and become wet.

\section*{Table 13.3 Summary of the ways direct experience is realized with finite verbs of types R1 and R2}

\footnotetext{
Declarative 1.person dativelsubject.
}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline & \begin{tabular}{l} 
3.person patient/subject and speaker's direct experience with the event. \\
3.person patient/subject and speaker's kinship/group relation to the \\
3.person or direct experience with the event
\end{tabular} \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l} 
Negated \\
declarative
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
1.person dative/subject, negated event with, -mon. \\
3.person dative/subject, speaker's kinship/group relation to the 3.person \\
and speaker negates the event. \\
3.person patient/subject and speaker's kinship/group relation to the \\
3.person or direct experience with the negated event.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline Interrogative & \begin{tabular}{l} 
2.person dative/subject. \\
3.person dative/subject and assumed hearer's kinship/group relation to \\
the 3.person. \\
3.person patient/subject and assumed hearer's direct experience with the \\
event.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l} 
Negated \\
interrogative
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
2.person dative/subject. \\
3.person dative/subject and assumed hearer's kinship/group relation to \\
the 3.porson. \\
3.person patient/subject and assumed hearer's direct experience with the \\
negated event.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\section*{Evidentiality strategy of direct experience with some unvolitional verbs of BR7 and BR8 type}

Declarative, clause type BR7
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 13.16 & n-e & 'khok-ki & daku & yuu & '6ii-t.tur. \\
\hline & 1SG-ERG & 2SG-GEN & friend & face & know-PST.EXP \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
'I got to know personally your friend.' Or: 'I recognized your friend.'
This refers to an event of getting to know personally a man or recognizing someone whom speaker has known before but did not recognize him right away.

Declarative, clause type BR7
\begin{tabular}{rllll}
13.17 & y-e & iki & dok & '6ii-toun. \\
& 1SG-ERG writing & read & know-PST.EXP \\
& 4learned to read.'
\end{tabular}

The construction here is what I call abilitive 'know how', 'sii. The modal verb 'sii becomes the main verb of the clause and the rest of the clause becomes the patient argument of the verb. Speaker has been studying how to read. When he reaches a point of certain fluency he claims this. It is a change of state, from not being able to read to being able to read. The verb is eventivized with some implications on its sense. Now speaker is at the end of his learning process. From now on he can claim that he knows how to read.

Interrogative, clause type BR7
13.18 'khok-ki iki dok 'sii-tsun=a

2SG-ERG writing read know-PST.EXP=Q
'Did you learn how to read?'
The speaker knows that the hearer has been in learning process and he wants to know if the hearer has gone over the hump.

Declarative, clause type BR8
\begin{tabular}{llll}
13.19 & n-e & tam-la & 'nor-toun. \\
& 1SG-ERG language-DAT make.mistake-PST.EXP & 'nor-son. \\
& 'I made an unintentional mistake in speech.'
\end{tabular}

Both forms are acceptable. Mistake may be of any type, e.g. grammatical.
Interrogative, clause type BR7
13.20 'ha khoo-tsun=ak \(\quad\)-e tam khajet hi-ko? (TE46)
'Did you all understand this whole message of mine?'
Speaker, the village leader is reprimanding the villagers and towards the end of his speech he inserts this rhetorical question which further enforces his reprimand. This verb has two senses, 'to understand' and 'to hear'. Only context will tell which is meant.

Table 13.4 Summary of the ways direct experience is realized with finite verbs of types BR7 and BR8
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline Declarative & 1.person dative/subject \\
\hline Negated declarative & 1.person dative/subject \\
\hline Interrogative & 2.person dative/subject \\
\hline Negated interrogative & 2.person dative/subject \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Kinship relation has no impact on how the experience relation is realized with the verbs above. Verbs of BR7 type ('to hear, to understand, to see, to know someone, to know how' etc) typically describe a state of affairs but the grammatical marker -tsun eventivizes them. At the same time it produces a semantic shift. Examples 13.16-20 illustrate it.

\subsection*{13.1.2 Speaker/hearer's direct experience in the process or the state of affairs of a finite verb, which is marked by -køt}

This finite verbal suffix marks the aspect of progress, an activity or motion which is in process. As the examples 13.21-24 illustrate it behaves somewhat like conjunct in agentive verbs. However it does not fit into the definition of conj/disj, see in chapter 12.6. 1. Therefore I call it progressive aspect with speaker/hearer's experience, PROG;EXP. There is another progressive aspect marker (-kuk) which requires visual observation and that marker comes up in section 13.2.2 on direct evidentials.
-The progressive aspect marker-køt in finite clauses marks also speaker/hearer's experience or participation in the process. However the primary grammatical meaning is progressive. Therefore this is not listed under direct evidentials.
-This marker combines with nonpast tense only.
-It cannot be negated. It only occurs in declarative and interrogative.
-Experience of speaker/hearer to the process of the verb is more intimate than mere sensory/visual observation.
-The progressive aspect marker -køt does not combine with all verb types. There are more examples of this grammatical marker in chapter 14.3.2 on progressive aspect.

Evidentiality strategy of the direct experience with finite agentive verbs which are marked with -køt
Declarative, clause type T1
```

13.21 \etaik-ki 'sa toik no-køt.
1PL-ERG field INDF buy-PROG;EXP
'We are in process of buying a piece of land.'

```

Interrogative, clause type BT1
\begin{tabular}{clllll}
13.22 & 'khok-ki & pap-e & 'aku & 'tshirin-la ra & tson-køp=pa? \\
& 2SG-GEN father-ERG uncle & 'tshiring-DAT goat & sell-PROG;EXP=Q \\
& 'Is your father selling a goat to uncle Chiring?'
\end{tabular}

Hearer is involved through his kinship to the process of selling. Note that the second person question would be exactly the same.

Declarative, clause type T1
\(\begin{array}{lll}13.23 & \text { nik-ki } & \text { 'lutcan trhik-køt. (TE7) } \\ & \text { 1PL.EXCL-ERG lutcang.ritual do;vbzr-PROG;EXP } \\ & \text { 'We were in process of performing the lut }\end{array}\)
'We were in process of performing the lutbang rite.'
This is from the story that tells about the great flooding of the Arun river. Speaker inserts this parenthetical information between a series of events which describe the sudden flooding. Speaker participated in this ritual at the time of the flood. Grammatically the tense of the verb is nonpast but the whole context is a series of events in past tense. Hence the past tense in English translation.

Declarative, clause type ST1

\subsection*{13.24 'lama juj-køt}
u-na.
lama come-PROG;EXP that-IN
'Lama is over there (in his house) preparing to come.'
Speaker is responding to someone's question. Speaker knows that the lama is coming because he himself was the one who just went over to lama's house to call him and he saw that lama was preparing to come. All this is signalled by the PROG;EXP marker which the speaker chooses. No one sees the lama coming at the moment of this speech
act. Inessive case marker (u-na) indicates that the lama is still in his own house. Speaker is in another house to which the lama is supposed to come.

Declarative, clause type BT4
13.25 n-e ka tep-pa di 'ha khoo-lon mik-la
1.SG-ERG order give-NMLZ DEF aud.impact hear;understand-PUNC moment-DAT
u-p-e tsi-køt.
that-PL2-GEN heed-PROG;EXP
'As soon as they hear about an order/law which I have given they obey it.
Speaker is the king or a high official and the ones who obey are under his authority. Speaker's participation is based on the relationship between the king and his subjects. This relationship resembles the kinship relation in illustration 13.22.

\section*{Table 13.5 Summary of the ways direct experience is realized with finite agentive verbs marked by -køt}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline Declarative & \begin{tabular}{l} 
1.person agent/subject \\
2.person agent/subject \\
3.person agent/subject and speaker's participation in the process or \\
kinship/group relation to 3.person.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline Interrogative & \begin{tabular}{l} 
2.person agent/subject and the assumed hearer's participation in the \\
process. \\
3.person agent/subject and the assumed hearer's participation in the \\
process or the assumed hearer's kinship/group relation to 3.person.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\section*{Evidentiality strategy of direct experience with finite BR1, R1 and R2 type verbs which are marked by -køt \\ Declarative, clause type R1}

\subsection*{13.26 引а na-køt. \\ 1SG become.sick-PROG;EXP}
'lam sick.'
Speaker uses the progressive aspect to signal that he has been sick for a while and is still sick.

Declarative, clause type BR1
13.27 ran-la phu-tsun ran-la phitsa jun-køt. (TE42)

2SG-DAT son-small 2SG-DAT child come-PROG;EXP
'You will have a baby boy.'
This is a very special case. Speaker is a lama who is supposed to have religious powers to foretell that the hearer's wife is going to get a baby boy. Though there are no visible signs and the lama does not even see the wife he somehow "knows" that it is going
to happen. The participation is realized through religious fore-knowledge the lama is supposed to have.

Interrogative, clause type R1
```

13.28 'khok-ki na\etatsa\eta na-køp=pa?
2SG-GEN wife become.sick-PROG;EXP=Q
'Is your wife sick?'

```

Speaker knows a bit but has not seen the patient. He assumes from what little he knows. Hearer is the husband who knows and has seen the patient and is related to her.

Declarative, reply to the question 13.28, clause type R1

\subsection*{13.29 roo na-køt. \\ 3SG become.sick-PROG;EXP}
'She is sick.'
This implies that the patient has been sick for a while and is sick at the time of the speech act. Speaker has intimate experience that his wife is sick.

Declarative, clause type R2
13.30 harin 'toheppa dzak-køt.
today rain vbzr-PROG;EXP
'Today it will rain.' Or:'It will be rainy today.'
Speaker somehow "knows" it is going to rain though it has not yet started at the time of speaking. It is his own opinion based on years of experience. Besides, it is rainy season.

\section*{Table 13.6 Summary of the ways direct experience is realized with finite verbs of types BR1, R1 and R2 marked by -køt}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline Declarative & \begin{tabular}{l} 
1.person dative/subject \\
3.person dative/subject and speaker's kinship/group relation to the \\
3.person or speaker's ability to tell the future events (lama). \\
3.person patient/subject and speaker's experience with the forthcoming \\
process (rain) which has not materialized yet at the time of the speech \\
act.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline Interrogative & \begin{tabular}{l} 
2.person dative/subject \\
3.person dative/subject and the assumed hearer's kinship/group relation \\
to the 3.person. \\
3.person patient/subject and the assumed hearer's experience based \\
on his ability to tell if the process (rain) is going to start.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\section*{Evidentiality strategy of the direct experience with finite BR7 type verbs marked by -køt \\ Declarative, clause type BR7}
```

13.31 引-e dze-ket 'sii-køt.
1SG-ERG Nepali-language know-PROG;EXP
'I know Nepali'. Or: 'I can speak Nepali.'

```

This implies that the speaker has been able to speak Nepali for a while and knows it quite well.

Interrogative, clause type BR7
13.32 'khok-ki iki dok 'єii-køp=pa?

2SG-ERG writing read know-PROG;EXP=Q
'Can you read?' Or: 'Do you know how to read?'
This is commonly used question. It presumes that the speaker has some prior knowledge of the hearer's ability.

\section*{Table 13.7 Summary of the ways direct experience is realized with finite verbs of type BR7 marked by -køt}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline Declarative & 1.person dative/subject \\
\hline Interrogative & 2.person dative/subject \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Evidentiality strategy of the direct experience with finite existential verbs
With the existential verb it is the EXIST.EXP jøt or NEG.EXIST.EXP mit which marks the experience or participation. The relation to the source is realized either by first person subject or by 3. person subject with speaker/hearer's kinship or coherent group or joint ownership relationship to the state of affairs.

When the speaker uses the form jøk-ken bet EXIST-NMLZ;CONJ AUX he actually draws from general knowledge, known factual information. In other words it is his assumption based on general knowledge, see chapter 13.2.5. And he has no personal relationship to the source of information.

I am aware that Scott DeLancey treats the existentials of Lhasa Tibetan in a different way (DeLancey, Scott. 2001. The mirative and evidentiality. Journal of Pragmatics \(33.3: 373\) ). Lhomi has a different system, consider the following examples:

Declarative, clause type BR1
13.33 ја-la 'ŋаa tsik iøt.

1SG-DAT drum INDF EXIST.EXP
'I have a large drum.' Or: 'I possess a large drum.'
Speaker is the owner of the drum.
Declarative, clause type BR1
\(\begin{array}{llll}13.34 & \text { Ø-e papa-la 'クaa tsik } & \text { iøt. } \\ & \text { 1SG-GEN father-DAT drum INDF } & \text { EXIST.EXP } \\ & \text { 'My dad has a large drum.' } & \end{array}\)

This example and 13.35 are both acceptable. The current one is marked for experience/participation through kinship relation, the latter is not. The current one highlights the close kinship relation and joint ownership, the latter one does not.

Declarative, clause type BR1

'My dad has a large drum.'
This is unmarked for experience/participation strategy.

Interrogative, BR3
\(\begin{array}{lllll}13.36 & \text { 'khok-ki } & \text { 'ama 'khim-na } & \text { iøp=pa } & \text { na? } \\ & \text { 2SG-GEN } & \text { mother house-IN } & \text { EXIST.EXP=Q } & \text { RSPNS }\end{array}\)
'Is your mom in the house?' Or: 'Is your mom at home?'
The speaker knows that the hearer belongs to the same family than the third person and formulates the question accordingly.

Declarative, clause type R1
\(\begin{array}{lll}13.37 & \text { na 'thanpuwa } & \text { iøt. } \\ & \text { 1SG healthy } & \text { EXIST.EXP }\end{array}\)
'I am well.' Or: 'I am healthy.'
This is existential equative with predicate adjective.
Interrogative, clause type R1
\(\begin{array}{llll}13.38 & \text { 'khøt } & \text { 'thanpuwa } & \text { iøp=pa } \\ & \text { 2SG } & \text { healthy } & \text { EXIST.EXP=Q }\end{array}\)
'Are you well?' Or: 'Are you in good health?'
Table 13.8 Summary of the ways direct experience is realized with the finite existential verb of types BR1, BR3 and R1
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline Declarative & \begin{tabular}{l} 
1.person dative/subject \\
3.person dative/subject and speaker's kinship/group relation to the \\
3.person.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l} 
Negated \\
declarative
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
1.person dative/subject and negated existential. \\
3.person dative/subject and speaker's kinship/group relation to the \\
3.person.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline Interrogative & \begin{tabular}{l} 
2.person dative/subject \\
3.person dative/subject and assumed hearer's kinship/group relation to \\
the 3.person.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l} 
Negated \\
interrogative
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
2.person dative/subject and negated question. \\
3.person dative/subject and assumed hearer's kinship/group relation to \\
the 3.person.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\section*{Evidentiality strategy of the direct experience with finite copular verbs}

With the copular verb it is the COP.EXP, hin which marks the experience or participation strategy. The negated copula for this is NEG.COP.EXP men. The experience relation is realized either by first person subject or by 3 . person subject with speaker/hearer's kinship or group or ownership relation to the complement of the copula.

It is obvious that neither existential nor copular verbs fit into the conj/disj definition I have quoted earlier.

The unmarked copula for experience or participation is COP, bet and the corresponding negated copula NEG.COP mem-bet. The following examples illustrate how the experiencer strategy is realized with copulas. All these examples have predicate nominals.

Declarative, clause type R1
13.39 ŋа pempu hin.

1SG official COP.EXP
'I am the official.'
This is a predicate nominal.
Interrogative, clause type R1
13.40 \begin{tabular}{lll} 
'khøt & \begin{tabular}{l} 
pempu \\
official
\end{tabular} & \(\underline{\text { him }=\text { pa? }}\) \\
& 2SG & COP.EXP=Q
\end{tabular}
'Are you the headman?'
The speaker assumes that the hearer is the headman but wants to get confirmation by asking him this question.

Declarative, clause type R1
13.41 ŋ-e toto pempu hin. Or: ... bet.

1SG-GEN e.brother headman COP.EXP COP
'My elder brother is the headman.'
Both copulas are acceptable in this example.
Interrogative, clause type R1
13.42 'aku 'tshirin him=pa?
uncle 'tshiring COP.EXP=Q
'Are you uncle Chiring?'
This is a common question to someone on phone. It is the second person question though the personal pronoun (subject) is left out.

Declarative, clause type R2
\(\begin{array}{lllllll}13.43 & \text { hi-ki } & \text { pitca hi-ko } & \text { n-e } & \text { hin } & \text { Or:... } & \text { bet } \\ & \text { this-GEN } & \text { book this-head } & \text { 1SG-GEN } & \text { COP.EXP }\end{array}\)
'This book is mine.'

Speaker uses the experiencer copula hin which here signals possession. If the speaker does not want to highlight the possession he uses the unmarked form bet.

\section*{Table 13.9 Summary of the ways direct experience is realized with finite copular verbs of types R1 and R2}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline Declarative & \begin{tabular}{l} 
1.person dative/subject \\
3.person dative/subject and speaker's kinship relation to the 3.person \\
(complement of the copula). \\
3.person patient/subject and speaker's possessed item (complement of \\
the copular).
\end{tabular} \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l} 
Negated \\
declarative
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
1.person dative/subject \\
3.person dative/subject and speaker's kinship relation to the 3.person \\
(complement of the copula).
\end{tabular} \\
\hline Interrogative & \begin{tabular}{l} 
2.person dative/subject \\
3.person dative/subject and the assumed hearer's kinship relation to the \\
3.person. \\
3.person patient/subject and speaker's possessed item (complement of \\
the copular).
\end{tabular} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{13.1.3 Speaker's inference based on visual results of an event}

\section*{Perfect of result}

Lhomi has perfect of result (also called resultative perfect) and the grammatical marker is -tuk which is attached to the past root of the finite verb or its auxiliary, see section 14.3.4. It combines with most verb types. This marker communicates the visible results of an action, activity, motion or process. The tense of the finite verb is past. Speaker has not seen the actual motion or act or process but he observes the visual results of which he can infer what has preceded.

If the finite verb of a clause with the perfect of result marker is negated, it becomes negated inchoative. This is obvious because the speaker does not see the results of the event which has not taken place yet.

\section*{Secondary meaning of the finite verbal marker -tuk}

This same marker which marks perfect of result marks also speaker's inference based on visual results of an event or process. It is an inference because speaker has not seen the event that has led to the current results. Speaker must observe some outcome or results of the preceding event which he has not observed. Aikhenvald discusses resultatives and perfects in her book (Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2004 (reprint Oxford 2009). Evidentiality. Oxfort University Press: Pp.112-116).

Throughout this sketch I have used the label -PRF.VIS for this perfect of result marker which is the primary meaning of this suffix. The examples that follow also illustrate
how this same marker -tuk is used to mark the inference based on observation of visual results.

The structure of the finite verb with this marker is as follows:
Verb root[PST] -tuk.

\section*{Speaker/hearer's inference based on visual results of an event in agentive verbs \\ Consider the following examples (marker is underlined): \\ Clause type BT4}
13.44 jug-ni
come-NFNT2
'khim-tu 'tshan 'luk sak-tuk. (TE3)
house-LOC beer put put.leave-PRF.VIS
'I came and finally arrived at home. (Someone) had placed a pot of beer there.'
Speaker reports how he came home and there was a pot of beer ready for him to drink. He did not see the event of putting the pot of beer ready for drinking, only the result of the activity.

Interrogative, clause type BT1
13.45 \begin{tabular}{lll} 
'aku & 'tshirin-ki y-e toto-la ra tsik tson-tuk=ka? \\
uncle 'tshiring-ERG 1SG-GEN brother-DAT goat INDF sell-PRF.VIS=Q
\end{tabular}
'Has uncle Chiring sold a goat to my brother?'
Speaker assumes that the hearer has seen the results, e.g. a goat in the yard.
English perfect is often the right way to gloss the verb with this marker -tuk.

Negated declarative, clause type BT1
13.46 'aku 'tshiriy-ki y-e toto-la ra tsik 'mat-tson-et.
uncle 'tshiring-ERG 1SG-GEN brother-DAT goat INDF NEG-sell-INCH 'Uncle Chiring has not sold a goat to your brother.'
Speaker has been in a position to see that selling event has had no visible results and infers that it has not taken place.

Declarative, clause type BT1
\(\begin{array}{lll}13.47 & \text { ŋ-e } \quad \text { jii-pa } & \text { tshi-tuk. } \\ & \text { 1SG-ERG be.wrong-NMLZ;Q do;vbz-PRF.VIS }\end{array}\)
'I have committed wrong.'
This is a volitional verb but unintentional act. Speaker is apologising to a victim for his wrong doings while he had been drunk. He has done wrong unintentionally because he had been drunk. He probably can remember what happened or at least can see the results of his actions. This seems to be also a way for a speaker to disclaim full responsibility for his actions. The intentional act would be ŋ-e jii-pa tohi-pen 1SG-ERG be.wrong-NMLZ;Q do;vbzr-1PST 'I committed a wrong act.'

Table 13.10 Summary of how inference based on visual results is realized in BT1, BT4, T1 type verbs marked with -tuk
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline Declarative & \begin{tabular}{l} 
1.person agent/subject and speaker's inference based on visual results \\
of his unintentional act. \\
3.person agent/subject and speaker's inference based on visual results \\
of an event.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline Interrogative & \begin{tabular}{l} 
1.person agent/subject and the assumed hearer's inference based on \\
visual results of speaker's unintentional act. \\
3.person agent/subject and speaker's inference based on visual results \\
of an event.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Speaker/hearer's inference based on visual results of an event in some BR3

\section*{and BR7 type verbs}

Declarative, clause type BR3
13.48 u-ko doŋpu-ni 'tshar-tuk.
that-head tree-ABL fall.down-PRF.VIS
'He has fallen from the tree.'
Speaker has not seen the event of falling. However he has seen the results of falling, an injured man on trail under a tree. He bases his inference both on visual results and/or a bystander's report. Had the victim spoken to him he would quote him in reporting the event.

Declarative, clause type BR7
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
13.49 & 'Ihakan-tu døp-p-e & jan-la & 'khim di-tu & 'lama \\
& temple-LOC stay-NMLZ;Q-GEN time-DAT house DEF-LOC & lama
\end{tabular}
dzaар-Y ki-i 'muk-pa u-ko 'ha khoo-tuk ka dzaapu-GEN dog-ERG bark-NMLZ;Q that-head aud.impact hear-PRF.VIS CEP 'joŋma khajek-ki. (TE37)
other plural-ERG
'While lama Jyaabu was in the village temple in fact others had heard lama's dog barking in his house.'

The story tells how a golden idol was stolen from the house of a village lama. This is backgrounded information in the story, off the story line. Barking would indicate that someone was stealing the idol at the lama's house as it eventually turned out.

\footnotetext{
Speaker/hearer's inference based on visual results of an event in some R1 and R2 type verbs
Declarative, clause type R1
13.50 'aku passan na-tuk.
uncle passang get.sick-PRF.VIS
}
'Uncle Passang has been sick.'
Uncle has been sick. Speaker has seen the sick man but the sickness has started earlier, he reports this to someone else, the patient is getting well or may be well at the time of the speech act.

Declarative, clause type R2

\subsection*{13.51 'tsheppa dzap-tuk. \\ rain vbzr-PRF.VIS}
'It has rained.
Speaker has seen the results of rain, wet ground etc. and infers that it must have rained. He has no other source of information.

Declarative, clause type R2
\(\begin{array}{llllll}13.52 & \text { y-e lakpa di } & \text { 'tshak-nat-tuk } & \text { ka. } \\ & \text { 1SG-GEN arm DEF fracture-COMPL-PRF.VIS } & \text { CEP }\end{array}\)
'My arm had actually become broken.'
Speaker reports the traffic accident he has recently experienced. He flew up through air and fell down on ground and was shaken quit a bit. He examined his body and saw that his right arm had fractured. He had no pain, he did not feel any pain when his arm got fractured or did not realize how it all happened. He only discovers it afterwards, he sees the results of actual event of the fracture. Counter-expectation particle (ka) reinforces this. There is an element of surprise and therefore this resembles mirativity which DeLancey talks about (DeLancey, Scott. 2001. The Mirative and Evidentiality.Journal of Pragmatics 33:379). Lhomi does have also a mirative particle, see chapter 9.2.5.

Table 13.11 Summary of how inference based on visual results of an event is realized in BR3, BR7, R1 and R2 verbs marked by -tuk
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline Declarative & \begin{tabular}{l} 
3.person dative/subject and speaker's inference based on the visual \\
results of an event. \\
3.person patient/subject and speaker's inference based on the visual \\
results of an event.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline Interrogative & \begin{tabular}{l} 
3.person dative/subject and assumed hearer's inference based on the \\
visual results of an event. \\
3.person patient/subject and assumed hearer's inference based on the \\
visual results of an event.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Table 13.12 Summary of evidentiality strategies in Lhomi
Evidentiality strategies

\section*{Direct experience}


\section*{Inferenced}


Following the table 13.23 I have added some comments about the resultative perfect which could be also counted optionally as a direct evidential. For the time being I keep it as one of the evidentiality strategies.

Aikhenvald talks about direct experience (see Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2004 (reprint Oxford 2009).Evidentiality. Oxfort University Press:61). Direct experience in Lhomi agentive verbs, as I have described it in section 13.1.1 comes actually very close to marking the information source. This is particularly true if we include only events of agentive verbs.

As the current chapter has shown the grammatical markers of Lhomi evidentiality strategies function in diffent ways depending on the type of verb they are attached to. The same is true of direct evidentials in 13.2.

\subsection*{13.2 Direct Evidentials}

To use the terminology of Aikhenvald Lhomi has five term system of grammatically marked evidentiality. This is in addition to what she calls "evidentiality strategies" which I have just described in section 13.1. The five terms of evidentiality in Lhomi are:
-Direct sensory observation, 13.2.1-3.
-Speaker's inference from circumstances,13.2.4
-Assumption based on general knowledge, 13.2.5
-Quotative with reference to the quoted source,13.2.6.
-Hearsay, for reported information (rumour) with no reference to one who reported, 13.2.7. There is a tree representation of this list at the end of the current section.

\subsection*{13.2.1 Speaker/hearer's direct sensory observation of the event of a finite verb which is marked by -son}

Direct sensory observation of the source of information is normally visual but may be occasionally also an auditory observation or feeling, e.g. feeling sick. I talk about sensory observaton but the gloss is VIS on morphemes, because non-visual sensory observation is so rare compared to visual. The grammatical meaning of this marker can be summarized as follows:
-son marks primarily sensory observation of an event and secondarily past tense.
-The primary grammatical meaning of this marker is sensory observation therefore it can be called direct evidential rather than evidential extentions of tense or aspect.
-Interrogative forms do occur and also negated interrogatives.
I have grouped the examples in sections which are based on clause types. This is because there are occasionally some semantic shifts.

\section*{Speaker/hearer's direct sensory observation of an event with finite agentive verbs}

Declarative, clause type BT1
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
13.53 & 'aku & 'tshirin-ki & n-e \(\quad\) toto-la ra tsik & tson-son? \\
uncle & 'tshiring-ERG & 1SG-GEN brother-DAT goat INDF & sell-PST.VIS \\
'Uncle Chiring sold a goat to my brother.' \\
& Speaker has seen the event of selling. This is his first hand sensory observation.
\end{tabular}

Interrogative, clause type BT1
\(\begin{array}{lllllll}13.54 & \text { 'aku } & \text { 'tshirin-ki } & \boldsymbol{\eta} \text {-e } \quad \text { toto-la } & \text { ra tsik } & \text { tson-son=a? } \\ & \text { uncle 'tshiring-ERG } & \text { 1SG-GEN brother-DAT } & \text { goat INDF sell-PST.VIS=Q } \\ & \text { 'Did uncle Chiring sell a goat to my brother?' Or: 'Did you see uncle Chiring selling }\end{array}\) a goat to my brother?'

Speaker assumes that the hearer has been able to see the event and phrases his question accordingly. The hearer replies with his own evidentials, see the example 13.55.

Negated declarative, clause type BT1, reply to 13.53

\subsection*{13.55 'aku 'tshirin-ki raj-ki toto-la ra tcik 'mat-tson-son.}
uncle Chiring-ERG 2SG-GEN brother-DAT goat INDF NEG-sell-PST.VIS '(I saw that) uncle Chiring did not sell a goat to your brother.'
Speaker has been at the scene. And has been able to observe that selling did not actually take place. This also entails that the third person has made an attempt to sell or at least talked about the deal.

Interrogative, clause type ST1
13.56 ŋа 'khim-la 'lis-son=a?

1SG home-DAT come-PST.VIS=Q
'(Did you see that) I came home?'
Valid question only if the speaker has forgotten what has happened, e.g. being drunk.

\section*{Table 13.13 Summary of the ways direct sensory observation of an event is realized with finite agentive verbs marked by -son}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l} 
Declarative & \begin{tabular}{l}
\(2-3 . p e r s o n ~ a g e n t / s u b j e c t ~ a n d ~ s p e a k e r ' s ~ d i r e c t ~ s e n s o r y ~ o b s e r v a t i o n ~ o f ~\) \\
the event
\end{tabular} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline \begin{tabular}{l} 
Negated \\
declarative
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
2-3.person agent/subject and speaker's direct sensory observation of \\
the negated event
\end{tabular} \\
\hline Interrogative & \begin{tabular}{l} 
1 or 3.person agent/subject and assumed hearer's direct observation of \\
the event in question.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Speaker/hearer's direct sensory observation of an event of the finite BR1, BR3, R1 and R2 type verb which is marked by -son
Declarative, clause type BR1
\(\begin{array}{llll}13.57 & \text { 'ani passan-la } & \text { phu teik } & \text { kii-son. } \\ & \text { aunt Passang-DAT } & \text { son INDF } & \text { be.born-PST.VIS }\end{array}\)
'A baby boy was born (I saw the event) to aunt Passang.'
Speaker is the midwife who has seen the event of delivery but is not related to the family. She may have been deeply involved in actual delivery but is not related to the mother. Therefore she would never be able to say kii-tsun.

Interrogative, clause type BR1
13.58 'ani passay-la phu tsik kii-son=a?
aunt passang-DAT son INDF be.born-PST.VIS=Q
'Was a baby boy born to aunt Passang?'
The addressee can be anyone who has been on the scene but is not a kin to the mother.

Negated declarative, clause type BR1
13.59 'ani passan-la phu tsik 'mat-kii-son.
aunt passang-DAT son INDF NEG-be.born-PST.VIS
'A baby boy was not born to aunt Passang.'
This is a reply to the question 13.58 .
Declarative, clause type BR3
13.60 u-ko donpu-ni 'tshar-son.
that-head tree-ABL fall.down-PST.VIS
'He fell (I saw it) down from a tree.'
Speaker has seen the event of falling.
Declarative, clause type R1
\begin{tabular}{llll}
13.61 & 'aku passan dan & na-son. \\
Uncle passang yesterday get.sick-PST.VIS \\
'Uncle Passang got sick yesterday.'
\end{tabular}

Speaker is an eyewitness of the event of uncle \(P\). becoming sick. The verb is a non-control verb and the marker -son marks the starting point of illness or a sudden pain which may have vanished by the time of the current speech act.

Declarative, clause type R2

\subsection*{13.62 'tsheppa dzap-son. \\ rain vbzr-PST.VIS}
'It rained.' Or: 'I saw the rain starting.'
Speaker has been inside and seen when it started to rain. This can refer either to the starting point of rain or to raining as a past event, e.g. it rained yesterday.

Declarative, clause type R2
13.63 wak \(\boldsymbol{\eta}\)-e 'sir-ku tor-son. (TE31)

MIR 1SG-GEN gold-idol become.lost-PST.VIS
'My golden idol is lost.' Or:'My golden idol has become lost.'
Speaker has just realized that the idol is no more in its place in the house where it used to be. She uses the direct sensory observation though she has not seen the event of stealing or the idol getting lost. Logically it would be more natural to use perfect of results, -tuk. This is because she only observed the visual results of it getting lost. However the use of direct observation marker makes it a fact rather than an inference from the results of an event. Aikhenvald talks about epistemic overtones with direct evidentials (Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2004 (reprint Oxford 2009). Evidentiality:321).

Table 13.14 Summary of the ways direct sensory observation is realized with BR1, BR3, R1 and R2 type verbs marked by -son
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline Declarative & \begin{tabular}{l} 
3.person dative/subject and speaker's direct sensory observation of \\
the event. \\
3.person patient/subject and speaker's direct sensory observation of \\
the event.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l} 
Negated \\
declarative
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
3.person dative/subject and speaker's direct sensory observation of \\
the negated event. \\
3.person patient/subject and speaker's direct observation of the \\
negated event
\end{tabular} \\
\hline Interrogative & \begin{tabular}{l} 
3.person dative/subject and hearer's assumed direct observation of \\
the event. \\
3.person patient/subject and hearer's assumed direct observation of \\
the event.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\section*{Speaker/hearer's direct sensory observation of an event of the finite BR7 and BR8 type verb which is marked by -son}

With the verbs of BR7 and BR8 type the sensory observation marker -son makes it an event rather than a state and that often produces a semantic shift in the verb. The next examples illustrate this:

Declarative, clause type BR7
13.64 gott-e iki dok '6ii-son.

3SG-ERG writing read know-PST.VIS
'He learned to read.'
Speaker has seen the event when his student or a friend reaches the point of certain fluency. It is an event, change of state.The modal verb here is so called PCU verb (perception, cognition or utterance verb). From now on the student knows how to read. He is over the hump in learning process.

Interrogative, clause type BR7
\begin{tabular}{ll}
13.65 & 'khok-ki pap-e iki dok \(\quad\) 'sii-son=a? \\
2SG-GEN father-ERG writing read \\
'Was your father able to read the letter (I sent)?'
\end{tabular}

Did your father know how to read the letter which I sent. The writer assumes that the hearer has been able to watch how his father handled the letter which had arrived. The writer of the letter (speaker) may be a teacher. 'sii-tsun-a cannot be used in this one though there is kinship relation! The current example refers to one particular event of reading a certain letter.

Declarative, clause type BR8
13.66 j-e 'thim-la jii-son.

1SG-ERG law-DAT breach-PST.VIS
'I breached the law.'
This is a unintentional verb. This verb does not combine with -pen (1PST) which would mark it definitely as an agentive verb. It becomes a genuine volitional verb only when nominalized and transitivizer is added, e.g. ... yii-pa t6hi-pen. There is more about this later in this grammar sketch in chapter 14. Speaker realizes afterwards that he has committed an unvolitional illegal act and of course he has directly observed it.

Table 13.15 Summary of the ways direct sensory observation is
realized with BR7 and BR8 type verbs marked by -song
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline Declarative & \begin{tabular}{l} 
1.person dative/subject and speaker's direct sensory observation of \\
the event. \\
3.person dative/subject and speaker's direct sensory observation of \\
the event.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l} 
Negated \\
declarative
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
1.person dative/subject and speaker's direct sensory observation of \\
the negated event. \\
3.person dative/subject and speaker's direct sensory observation of \\
the negated event.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline Interrogative & \begin{tabular}{l} 
1.person dative/subject and the assumed hearer's direct sensory \\
observation of the event. \\
3.person dative/subject and the assumed hearer's direct sensory \\
observation of the event.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{13.2.2 Speaker/hearer's direct sensory observation of the process of a finite verb which is marked by -kuk}

Lhomi has direct sensory observation progressive aspect PROG;VIS, -kuk. The primary meaning of this grammatical marker is direct sensory observation (VIS). The secondary meaning is progressive, an activity or motion or internal state which is in process.
-Sensory observation of a process detaches the observer somewhat because the source of information is only his own visual observation.
-The information based on speaker's direct sensory observation may be new either to speaker or to hearer or to both. This is because the observation is often recent and there is no other source of information available. As to the epistemic value of this evidential see the table 13.24.
-Interrogative occurs but the verb marked for progressive aspect cannot be negated. The reason is that the process either has started and can be observed or it has not yet started and cannot be observed. It is the negated inchoative which is then used.

\section*{Speaker/hearer's direct sensory observation of a process in finite agentive verbs}

Declarative, clause type BT1
13.67 'aku 'tshirin-ki ran-ki toto-la ra tsik tson-kuk.
uncle 'tshiring-ERG 2SG-GEN brother-DAT goat INDF sell-PROG;VIS
'Uncle Chiring is in process of selling a goat to your brother.'
Speaker sees that uncle Chiring is in process of selling a goat. The hearer is
unaware, he has not seen it. The act of selling is in progress. There is no mirative
extention here. Speaker just happens to be an eyewitness of the process.

Declarative, clause type T1
13.68 u-ki khus lin-kuk.
that-ERG bribe take-PROG;VIS
'He takes (I have seen) bribes.'
Speaker has seen the person taking bribes. Not just once but several times. This is not habitual aspect but its meaning comes close to it.

Declarative, clause type ST1
13.69 u-na phøt gatsen tsik phøp-pa gatcen trik dzom-na that-IN Tibetan many INDF Tibetan-HUM1 many INDF gather-NFNT1
u-na phøt sapra 'phak-kuk. (TE29)
that-IN Tibetan group.dance dance-PROG;VIS
'Many Tibetans got together there and they were singing and dancing.'
Speaker is telling his dream.

Declarative, clause type T1
13.70 ki di-ki khanta dak te-na 'phaa-na do tsik dak-kuk. (TE25)
dog DEF-ERG what lick watch-NFNT1 there-IN stone INDF lick-PROG;VIS 'He checked what the dog was licking and it was licking a rock nearby.'
The dog of the story licks a piece of rock and the man sees it and he does likewise and they both survive.

Table 13.16 Summary of the ways direct sensory observation of a process is realized with finite agentive verbs marked by -kuk
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline Declarative & \begin{tabular}{l} 
3.person agent/subject and speaker's direct sensory observation of the \\
process.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline Interrogative & \begin{tabular}{l} 
3.person agent/subject and the assumed hearer's direct sensory \\
observation of the process.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\section*{Speaker/hearer's direct sensory observation of a process in R1 and R2 type finite verbs \\ Declarative, clause type R1}
13.71 ŋа na-kuk.

1SG get.sick-PROG;VIS
'I feel sick.' Or: 'lam sick.'
First person speaker implies that he has made his own recent observation that he is sick. He feels sick. This is a verb of internal state, see also examples 13.26 and 13.29.

Declarative, clause type R1

\subsection*{13.72 j-e naŋtsaŋ na-kuk. \\ 1SG-GEN wife get.sick-PROG;VIS \\ 'My wife is sick.'}

Speaker is the husband but his information about his wife is based on his own eyewitness report which here implies that the person may not be very sick, he has just observed that she is sick, eyewitness detaches the observer, it is not real intimate knowledge, it is purely sensory observation. Therefore eyewitness report ranks lower in the epistemic scale than experience/participation, na-køt.

Declarative, clause type R2

\subsection*{13.73 'tбheppa dzak-kuk. rain vbzr-PROG;VIS 'It rains.'}

Speaker sees that it rains but he himself is inside. There is no first hand experience with the raining process.

Table 13.17 Summary of the ways direct sensory observation of process is realized with R1 and R2 type verbs marked by -kuk
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline Declarative & \begin{tabular}{l} 
1.person dative/subject \\
3.person dative/subject and direct sensory observation of the process. \\
3.person patient/subject and direct sensory observation of the process.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline Interrogative & \begin{tabular}{l} 
3.person dative/subject and assumed hearer's direct sensory \\
observation of the process. \\
3.person patient/subject and assumed hearer's direct sensory \\
observation of the process.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\section*{Speaker/hearer's direct sensory observation of the process in BR7 and BR8 type finite verbs \\ Declarative, clause type BR7}
13.74 ⿹-e iki dok 'sii-kuk.

1SG-ERG writing read know-PROG;VIS
'I can read.' Or: 'I know how to read.'
It is the beginning, speaker is not all that skilled reader yet. He has just passed over the hump and is now in the state of knowing how to read.

Interrogative, clause type BR7
\(\begin{array}{lllll}13.75 & \text { 'khok-ki } & \text { iki } & \text { dok } & \text { '6ii-kuk=ka? } \\ & \text { 2SG-ERG } & \text { writing } & \text { read } & \text { know-PROG;VIS=Q }\end{array}\)
‘Can you read?' Or. 'Do you know how to read?'
Speaker assumes that the hearer may have passed over the hump, he may have learned to read. This refers to a state of affairs.

Declarative, clause type BR7
\(\begin{array}{lllll}13.76 & \text { gott-e } & \text { iki } & \text { dok 'sii-kuk. } \\ & \text { 3SG-ERG } & \text { writing } & \text { read } & \text { know-PROG;VIS }\end{array}\)
'He knows how to read.' Or: 'He can read.'
The speaker has seen that the third person has just learned to read.

Declarative, clause type BR7
13.77
'we ran-ki phøk-ket
SCA 2SG-ERG Tibetan-language know-PROG;VIS MIR
'What a surprise, you know Tibetan language.' Or: 'Vow, you can speak Tibetan.'
Speaker is surprised that the hearer can speak Tibetan. He does not know how well the hearer knows the language. This is purely first impression. The final marker in the verbal phrase is the mirativity particle, wa.

Declarative, clause type BR8
\(\begin{array}{llll}13.78 & \text { u-p-e } & \text { nittuwa-la } & \text { jii-kuk. } \\ & \text { that-PL2-ERG rel.holiday-DAT } & \text { breach-PROG;VIS }\end{array}\)
'They are breaching (I see) the rules of this religious holiday.'

This is an unvolitional verb.

Table 13.18 Summary of the ways direct sensory observation of process is realized with BR7 and BR8 type finite verbs marked by -kuk
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline Declarative & \begin{tabular}{l} 
1.person dative/subject and speaker's recent observation of his own \\
progress. \\
2.person dative/subject and speaker's recent direct observation of the \\
hearer's process. \\
3.person dative/subject and speaker's recent direct observation of the \\
third person's process.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline Interrogative & \begin{tabular}{l} 
2.person dative/subject and the assumed hearer's direct sensory \\
observation of the process. \\
3.person dative/subject and the assumed hearer's direct sensory \\
observation of the third person's process.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{13.2.3 Speaker/hearer's direct sensory observation marked in existential verbs}

The inflected existential for direct sensory observation is duk EXIST.VIS. To be correct this is morphologically an existential which does not share the same root with jøt. I just call it EXIST.VIS and it contrasts with the jøk-ken bet EXIST-NMLZ;CONJ AUX which is the general knowledge existential.

Scott DeLancey argues that mirativity in Lhasa Tibetan is distinct grammatical category from evidentiality ( DeLancey, Scott. 2001. The Mirative and Evidentiality. Journal of Pragmatics 33.3:371).

In Lhomi this eyewitness observation existential (duk) often refers also to new information which is recently observed. However I have not set up another category for mirativity. Besides Lhomi has a mirativity particle wa ( see more in 9.2.5) which often cooccurs with this existential (duk) to mark it as a surprise to the observer/speaker.

When two Lhomi persons are arguing about something one may refer to a written source to support his argument. When he quotes the written source that supports him, he uses visual observation duk which implies that the companion does not know the written source. If he assumes that his companion also knows the passage then he uses the general knowledge form jøk-ken bet.

\section*{Speaker/hearer's direct sensory observation marked in existential verbs, duk and jøk-ken bet}

Declarative, clause type BR1
\(\begin{array}{lllll}13.79 & \text { 'aku 'tshirin-la 'naa toik } & \text { duk. } \\ & \text { uncle } & \text { 'tshiring-DAT drum INDF } & \text { EXIST.VIS } \\ & \text { 'Uncle Chiring has a large drum.' }\end{array}\)
Recent observation! Speaker either just saw it or is seeing it while he utters this. Speaker assumes that the hearer does not know. If the speaker and hearer both are in a
position to observe then there would be no need for this statement. Therefore sensory observation in Lhomi generally entails the speaker's assumption that the information he passes is new to the hearer. This is particularly true about written material the speaker may be speaking about. In reality it may or may not be new information for the speaker.

Declarative, clause type R1

\subsection*{13.80 'aku 'tshirin 'thay-puwa \\ duk. \\ uncle 'tshiring health-ADJVZR \\ EXIST.VIS}
'I saw uncle Chiring being well.' Or:'Uncle Chiring is well.'
Speaker has just visited the uncle and reports this right away. This is recent observation, no prior knowledge only first hand eyewitness. Speaker also assumes that the hearer does not know. This is not general factual knowledge, which would be jøk-ken bet.

\subsection*{13.81 ŋа 'lo di-ntikma duk.}

1SG will warm.up-ADJVZR EXIST.VIS
'I am happy and free of worries. Lit. my inner being is warm.'
The NP which has the noun and modifying adjective is the predicate nominal of this clause. Existentials may have predicate nominals and predicate adjectives, just like the copular. Why does this one have duk rather than jøt? The speaker is passing recently discovered information about himself to someone who does not know it.

Interrogative, clause type R1

\subsection*{13.82 'aku 'tshirin 'thay-puwa \\ duk=ka? \\ uncle 'tshiring health-ADJVZR EXIST.VIS=Q}
'Is uncle Chiring healthy?' Or:'Have you seen uncle Chiring being healthy?'
Speaker assumes that the hearer is in a position to have seen uncle Chiring recently and therefore has been able to observe whether he is well or not. This is predicate adjective.

Negated declarative, clause type R1
\(13.83 \begin{array}{llll}\text { 'aku } & \text { 'tshirin } & \text { 'than-t6e } & \text { min-tuk. } \\ & \text { uncle } & \text { 'tshiring } & \text { health-ADJVZR }\end{array} \quad \begin{aligned} & \text { NEG-EXIST.VIS }\end{aligned}\)
'Uncle Chiring is not healthy.'
Speaker has recently seen uncle Chiring and his observation was that uncle was not well.

\section*{Table 13.19 Summary of the ways direct sensory observation is realized in existential verbs BR1 and R1}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l} 
Declarative & \begin{tabular}{l} 
1.person dative/subject and speaker's recent discovery of his own \\
state of affairs (inner feelings). \\
3.person dative/subject and speaker's direct sensory observation of
\end{tabular} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline & the state. \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l} 
Negated \\
declarative
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
3.person dative/subject and speaker's direct sensory observation of \\
negated state.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline Interrogative & \begin{tabular}{l} 
3.person dative/subject and the assumed hearer's direct sensory \\
observation of the state.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{13.2.4 Speaker's inference from circumstantial evidence}

Speaker's inference from circumstantial evidence represents his conclusion and opinion about the activity or process or state of affairs he has not observed very closely. Speaker draws his conclusion from casual circumstances. He reasons. The closest English translation often is like, 'I think', 'in my opinion' or 'it is my conclusion that'.

The tense is nonpast and the verb root nonpast. This evidentiality is marked by the suffix -køppet which is attached to nonpast root of the finite verb or to the finite auxiliary hin. This suffix could be further segmented into progressive aspect marker (-køt) and inchoative aspect marker (-pet), but it would make no sense to do so. When suffixes are put to a string like this the individual suffixes tend to lose most of their original grammatical meaning and the whole string has its own grammatical function.

When the marker -køppet is affixed to nonpast root of the finite verb the resulting tense is nonpast.

When -køppet is attached to the finite auxiliary hin of the past verb root, the tense is past. This inference contrasts with other evidential categories, e.g. assumption based on general knowledge.

Inference of this kind is based either on scanty sensory observation or any kind of first or second hand scanty information.

It is obvious that this inference cannot occur in interrogative mood. However it may be negated. The following examples illustrate this evidentiality category (the suffix that marks this is underlined):

Speaker's inference from circumstantial evidence in verb types T1, ST1 and R1
Clause type T1

\subsection*{13.84 万-e dak-Y 'khim so-køppet. \\ 1SG-GEN friend-ERG house build-INFER \\ 'I think my friend is in process of building a house.' Or: 'As far as I know my friend} is building a house.'

Speaker deducts his statement from his prior knowledge about the plans and the character of his friend. He either has heard some hints from his friend or seen some definite signs of beginning the process. It is based on either scanty first hand information or eyewitness observation that is inconclusive.

Clause type T1
13.85
u-p-e tuwa sa-køppet.
that-PL2-ERG food eat-INFER
'As far as I can tell they are eating.'
Speaker is outside of the house and he hears people inside talking about eating and hears other sounds of eating and he figures out that they are eating.

Clause type ST1
13.86 roo saar-la do-køppet.

3SG city-DAT go-INFER
'As far as I know he is going to town.' Or: 'I think he is going to town.'
Someone has seen the third person going on trail and reports to the speaker who then can make this statement. Speaker does not know for sure but bases it on someone else's eyewitness report.
```

13.87 roo saar-la do-ken hiy-køppet.
3SG city-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ COP-INFER

```
'I think he is going to town. Or:'I think he is the one who goes to town.'
This is a headless subject relative clause that is predicate NP. There is more about relative clauses in chapter 16.

Clause type R1
13.88 'aku passay na-køppet.
uncle Passang get.sick-INFER
'I figure that uncle Passang is sick.'
Speaker has heard this from someone else but is not sure. He has not seen the patient. He may have heard the moaning of the sick. It is purely an inference from scanty information and circumstances.

Table 13.20 Summary of how inference from circumstances is realized in T1, ST1, R1 type finite verbs marked by -køppet
Declarative 3 3.person agent/subject and speaker's inference based on circumstances. 3.person dative/subject and speaker's inference based on circumstances.

\section*{Speaker's inference from circumstantial evidence in verb types ST2, BR3 and BR7 \\ Clause type ST2}
13.89 u-ki mi u-la 'nøppa 'ak-si suu-pa hin-køppet. that-GEN man that-DAT evil.spirit wicked-INTNS enter-NMLZ;Q AUX-INFER 'In my opinion an evil spirit has entered that man.'
This implies a demon possession. Structurally this is parallel to suu-pa bet, NMLZ;Q AUX. Therefore -pa hin-køppet communicates both past tense and inference. It
refers to an event and the indirect object (dative marked dative) is there as well. Therefore it is grammatically more correct not to analyze this as a relative clause.

Clause type BR3
\begin{tabular}{llll}
13.90 & \begin{tabular}{l} 
u-ko \\
that-head tree-ABL fall.down-NMLZ;Q \\
4 think he has fallen from a tree.'
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
hin-køppet. \\
AUX-INFER
\end{tabular} \\
&
\end{tabular}

Speaker finds someone laying badly injured under a tree. Victim is unable to speak but speaker figures that he probably has fallen from a tree nearby. Yet he is not sure. If he is able to get confirmation from the victim then he would quote him verbatim.

\section*{Clause type BR7}
\(13.91 \begin{array}{lllll}\text { 'aku } & \text { passan-ki iki } & \text { dok } & \text { 'sii-pa } & \text { hin-køppet. } \\ & \text { uncle } & \text { passang-ERG writing } & \text { read } & \text { know-NMLZ;Q }\end{array}\) 'In my opinion uncle Passang has learned to read.'
Inference is based on the fact that the speaker has received a letter from Passang. No prior knowledge or observation of the learning process is implied.

Table 13.21 Summary of how inference from circumstances is realized in ST2, BR3, BR7 verbs marked by -pa hin-køppet
Declarative \(\quad\) 3.person agent/subject and speaker's inference from circumstances. 3.person dative/subject and speaker's inference from circumstances.

\section*{Speaker's inference from circumstantial evidence in existential and copular verbs}

Also existential and copular verbs participate in this subsystem of direct evidentials (inference from circumstances). The existential verb for inference is jøppet and the respective copula is hin-køppet. The negated forms are mippet and mey-køppet respectively. Tense is governed by the context. The examples below illustrate these verbs:

Clause type BR3, existential
13.92 u-na mi dza tsik-tsøt trik iøppet.
that-IN man hundred one-amount INDF EXIST.INFER
'In my estimate there were about hundred men.'
Speaker has been in a meeting and later he reports this figure to someone who has asked him. He has not counted but later he makes this estimate, inference.

Clause type BR3, existential
```

13.93 ŋ-e 'ama 'khim-na iøppet.
1SG-GEN mother house-IN EXIST.INFER
'It seems to me that my mom is at home.' Or: 'l think my mom is at home.'

```

Speaker sees smoke coming from the house and knows that mother ought to be there. She could be anybody's mother actually. Close kinship relation has no impact on this example. This is logical inference from external signs.

Clause type R1, copula
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
13.94 & u-ki jap-la pempu di 'aku wantsin hin-køppet. \\
that-GEN time-DAT headman DEF uncle wantsin & COP.EXP-INFER
\end{tabular}

The topic is the headman in this statement and the proper name is the predicate nominal. When the copular hin is inflected for inference or for any other inflectional category, the direct experience strategy of hin is reduced. In other words no kinship relation is involved here.

Clause type R1, negated copula
13.95 u-ki jaŋ-la pempu di 'aku wantsin men-køppet. that-GEN time-DAT official DEF uncle wantsin NEG.COP.EXP-INFER 'At that time I think the headman wasn't uncle Wantsin.'
The topic/subject is the headman in this statement and the proper name is the predicate nominal.

Table 13.22 Summary of how inference from circumstances is realized in existential and copular verbs of BR3, R1 type
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline Declarative & 3.person dative/subject and inference from circumstances. \\
\hline Negated declarative & 3.person dative/subject and inference from circumstances. \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{13.2.5 Speaker/hearer's assumed evidential based on general knowledge}

Aikhenvald defines assumed evidentials as follows: "Information source based on conclusions drawn on the basis of logical conclusions and general knowledge and experience." (Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2004 (reprint Oxford 2009).Evidentiality:391). General knowledge in Lhomi is considered factual information. I have marked it NMLZ;CONJ AUX (-ken bet) and -NMLZ;Q AUX (-pa bet). The latter is used in historical narratives as the back bone. The previous one is used for commonly known facts. The tense of the former one is nonpast and the latter is past.
-pa bet marks past tense and general knowledge, an event which is considered to be true. It is the general factual knowledge which is the primary grammatical meaning of this marker and therefore I have listed it under direct evidentials. The verb has past tense root. It is the whole structure V[PST] -pa bet which marks past tense, factual information and an event.
-ken bet marks nonpast tense and general knowledge, which is considered to be true. The general factual knowledge is the primary meaning of this marker with the auxiliary. The verb root is nonpast.

Speaker/hearer's assumed evidential based on general knowledge in verbs of BR3, R1 and BR7
Declarative, clause type BR3
13.96 u-ko doppu-ni 'tshar-a bet.
that-head tree-ABL fall.down-NMLZ;Q AUX
'He fell down from a tree'.
Speaker draws from general factual information.

Declarative, clause type R1
```

13.97 'aku 'tshirin da\eta na-ja bet.
uncle 'tshiring yesterday get.sick-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Uncle Chiring got sick yesterday.'

```

This signals the starting point of an illness which may or may not last for long time. It could refer also to a spell of headache which may be over by the time of this speech act. To use sensory observation (na-son) would indicate a more close observation of the patient.

Declarative, clause type BR7
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
13.98 & gott-e & iki & dok & 'sii-pa & bet. \\
& 3SG-ERG & writing & read & know-NMLZ;Q & AUX
\end{tabular}
'He learned to read.'
Speaker bases his information on general knowledge which he has learned from elsewhere. This refers to an event, the end of learning process. From now onwards the person knows how to read.

\section*{Speaker/hearer's assumed evidential based on general knowledge in existential and copular verbs}

When the existential verb is marked for general knowledge it is the same marker that occurs with other verbs in the current section, jøk-ken bet. The corresponding negated existential is somewhat irregular, mip-pa bet. Existential verbs do not inflect for past tense. Therefore this negated existential may either refer to the state whose eventtime precedes or is right at the time of speech (or reference time), (see Givón, Talmy.
2001. Syntax, An introduction, Vol. I. Amsterdam and Philadelphia:John

Benjamins:286). There is more about this in chapter 14.2.3 of this paper.
When the copular verb is marked for factual general information it is bet and the negated one is mem-pet. Consider the following examples:

Declarative, clause type BR1
13.99 'aku 'tshiriŋ-la 'ŋaa 'pii jøk-ken bet.
uncle 'tshiring-DAT drum two EXIST-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Uncle Chiring has two large drums.'
Speaker knows it for sure, it is general knowledge. He may have seen the drums himself but he chooses not to use any other direct evidential markers.

Negated declarative, clause type BR3

'If a Tibetan bull and a yak have a bull fight, the bull does not have even half of yak's strength.'

Speaker tells as parenthetical information that yak is much stronger than a Tibetan bovine bull. Yet they often fight and it is the Tibetan bull that wins.

Interrogative, clause type R1 with predicate adjective
\begin{tabular}{clll}
13.101 & 'aku 'tshiring 'than-puwa & jøk-ken & bek=ka? \\
uncle 'tshiring health-ADJVZR & EXIST-NMLZ;CONJ & AUX=Q \\
'Is uncle Chiring healthy?'
\end{tabular}

Speaker assumes that the hearer knows but he himself does not have access to this general knowledge.

Interrogative, clause type R1 copula
13.102 'aku 'Ihakpa \(\quad\)\begin{tabular}{c} 
pempu \\
uncle Lhakpa
\end{tabular}\(\quad\)\begin{tabular}{l} 
official
\end{tabular}\(\quad\)\begin{tabular}{c} 
bek \(=k a ?\)
\end{tabular} 'Is uncle Lhakpa the headman?'
This is normal third person question of the copular verb with predicate nominal. Neither speaker nor hearer has any experiencer/kinship relation to the third person.

\subsection*{13.2.6 Speaker's source of information is direct speech, quotative}

This is used very frequently in Lhomi. So much so that indirect speech hardly ever occurs in Lhomi. While reporting the speaker directly quotes someone else rather than uses any other source for his information. Quotative in Lhomi involves exact indication of who provided the information, (see Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2004 (reprint Oxford 2009). Evidentiality.Oxfort University Press:25). Within quotes the speaker has the whole repertoire of evidentials at his disposal.

Givon argues: "In many cultures, claiming direct personal responsibility for asserted information may be a serious error, to be strictly avoided in any but most intimate social contexts."( Givón, Talmy. 2001.Syntax, An introduction, Vol. II. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins:323) I believe this is exactly the rationale Lhomis have when
they choose to use quotative even if they themselves could assert the information. There are more illustrations of quotatives in section 18.4 on rhetorical questions.

The grammatical quotation markers at the end of a s-complement are: si-kuk, sittoun, sir-son, sin-na, sin-ni, t6hi-pa bet, twhi-pen. And they are typically marked for evidentiality. The lexical sense of the finite verb of the matrix sentence is "to say, to tell". The matrix sentence is BT type and it can combine with most tense/aspect markers and evidentials. And it may have also medial verb markings, e.g. sin-na. The following examples illustrate quotatives (the main verb of the complement clause and the finite verb of the matrix sentence are underlined).

Quotative is higher in the epistemic scale than 'hearsay'.
The complement clause may be either in declarative or interrogative mood. The same is true of the matrix sentence.

Declarative, clause type ST1 in a complement clause
13.103 ran hi-ki thik-la tam '6øt=tu do sit-t6un.

2SG this-GEN about-DAT message speak=PURP go[IMP] say-PST.EXP 'He/they said to me: "Go to tell (them) about this!"'

Declarative, clause type R1 in a complement clause
13.104 'aku passan \begin{tabular}{rlll} 
uncle & na-ja & bassang & get.sick-NMLZ;Q
\end{tabular}\(\quad\)\begin{tabular}{l} 
si-kuk. \\
unX
\end{tabular}\(\quad\)\begin{tabular}{l} 
say-PROG;VIS
\end{tabular}
"People say: "Uncle Passang has become sick".
Speaker has heard it from someone who has seen the patient. The subjects of the matrix clause and the complement are not co-referential. The embedded quotation is marked for general knowledge. Though the speaker does not state exactly who the source is, someone has given him this factual information. This is not a 'hearsay' report.

Declarative, R 2 verb in a complement clause
\begin{tabular}{rllll}
13.105 & hi-ki & pitca hi-ko roo-ki & hin & si-kuk. \\
this-GEN & book this-head & 3SG-ERG & COP.EXP & \\
say-PROG;VIS
\end{tabular} 'As for this book, he says: "It is mine.",
The speaker disclaims his own judgment of providing epistemic evidence and therefore uses direct quotation. The complement clause includes only hin. The subject of the complement clause and the matrix clause are co-referential and therefore the speaker uses COP.EXP hin.

Declarative, R 2 verb in a complement clause


Declarative

\subsection*{13.107 hi-ni pupu tsyntcun-ki ion tshi-pa bet. (TE17) \\ this-ABL pupu tsyntcung-ERG HAP \\ say-NMLZ;Q AUX}
'Then Pupu Cyntsung said: "It is okey." "
The complement clause in this example is very short, just the hearer's acceptance particle jon. Even though this is a direct quote the marker sin-na which marks the end of the quotation is optionally left out. The reason is that the quotation is so short, just a particle. This happens often when there is no potential confusion who says what.

This example illustrates indirect speech in Lhomi:
```

13.108 [nuk trhi-pa roo-ran u-tu 'si-køt-to ]
this.way do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q 3SG-self that-LOC die-PROG;EXP-PROB

```
    'nø-na nuk tohi-pa ket mit-dzak-ken
    think-NFNT1 this.way do;vbzr voice NEG-vbzr-NMLZ;CONJ
    khanta ak mit-t6hikken
    what INCLN NEG-do;vbzr-NMLZ;CONJ
    u-tu=ran jari u-ntuk tohi-na 'si do-ken bet. (TE30)
    that-LOC=FOC some that-ADVZR do;vbzr-NFNT1 die go-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
    'Not thinking that she might die there, she neither uses her voice nor does anything
else but in fact will die right there.'

The referent is a sheep who is tangled up in bushes and dies there. This is an indirect speech. The complement clause in brackets is the patient/direct object of the matrix verb 'nø-na which is in non-finite position. It also marks the same subject chain which ends with the final verb 'die'. Indirect speech is very rare in Lhomi. Direct speech, quotative is normally preferred. It is the personal pronoun (2SG and 3SG) that helps us to see the difference.

Another interesting detail in this one is that the negation covers also the preceding verb 'nø in the serial chain.

\subsection*{13.2.7 Speaker's source of information is "hearsay"}

This type of evidentiality is marked by a particle lo at the end of the finite verbal phrase. Naturally this cannot occur in questions but negated declarative does occur. The source is purely rumour or 'hearsay'. Speaker disclaims his responsibility for the truth value of his statement. Consider the following examples (the disclaimer particle is underlined):

Clause type T1
\(\begin{array}{llllll}13.109 & \text { mi } & \text { toik } & \text { 'set } & \text { ta引 -a } & \text { bet } \\ \text { man } & \text { INDF } & \text { kill[PST] } & \text { IMMED-NMLZ;Q } & \text { AUX } & \text { DISCL }\end{array}\)
'People say that (someone) has killed a man.'
The source of information is rumour. The agent/subject of this clause is deliberately left out.

Clause type BR3
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
13.110 & hi-ko & hassøt & 'phaksintak-tu 'thep-pa & bet & \(\underline{\text { lo. }}\) (TE18) \\
& this-head & VIP & pheksinda-LOC meet-NMLZ;Q & AUX & DISCL
\end{tabular}
'People claim that he met them (police) in Pheksinda.'
Speaker tells an old story about a great lama who had all kinds of skills and he was even taken to Kathmandu to perform a miracle to the king. The lama meets in Pheksinda the police who were sent to fetch him. Speaker uses the disclaimer particle very frequently in this story. Probably he himself does not fully believe the story.

Clause type R1
\begin{tabular}{cll}
13.111 & 'aku & passan \\
uncle & na-tuk & \(\underline{\text { lo. }}\) \\
& passang & get.sick-PRF.VIS
\end{tabular}\(\quad\)\begin{tabular}{l} 
DISCL
\end{tabular}
'People tell that uncle Passang has been sick.' Or: 'There is a rumour that uncle Passang has become sick.'

Uncle has been sick, speaker has heard common "hearsay". He reports this to someone else, the patient is getting well or is well at the time of the speech act. Speaker disclaims himself from any responsibility for the epistemic value of this rumour.

\section*{Table 13.23 Summary of direct evidentials in Lhomi}


\footnotetext{
Aikhenvald lists the following semantic parameters (see Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2004 (reprint Oxford 2009). Evidentiality. Oxfort University Press:366):
"I. VISUAL which covers evidence acquired through seeing;
II. SENSORY which covers evidence through hearing, and is typically extended to smell and taste, and sometimes also touch;
III. INFERENCE based on visible or tangible evidence or result;
IV. ASSUMPTION based on evidence other than visible results:this may include logical reasoning, assumption, or simply general knowledge;
V. HEARSAY, for reported information with no reference to whom it was reported by; and
VI. QUOTATIVE, for reported information with an overt reference to the quoted source."
}

How does Lhomi fit into this framework? My conclusion is that Lhomi has five term system. Sensory covers both visual and sensory observation in Lhomi, typically it is visual. Other semantic parameters are: inference from circumstances, assumption based on general knowledge, quotative and 'hearsay' report. This is obvious when we look at the examples in the current section. Table 13.23 summarizes these terms.

Actually the resultative perfect in section 13.1.3 could be included as one more kind of inference under direct evidentials. Certainly it is a border line case. There is no compelling support on either side in deciding whether -tuk marks resultative perfect as primary grammatical meaning or the visual inference of results. If we view the latter as primary meaning then Lhomi would have a six term system.

As for how Aikhenvald classifies (Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2004 (reprint Oxfort 2009) Evidentiality:367) the cross-linguistic systems of evidentials, Lhomi does not fit right away into any of those categories. The closest seems to be modified D1 with five choices.

\section*{Table 13.24 Ranking of Lhomi evidentials in relation to epistemic certainty \\ (number 1 refers to the highest epistemic value)}
1. Experience/participation evidentiality strategy, (-køt, -t6uŋ, hin, jøt )
2. Direct sensory observation, (-kuk, -son, duk)
3. Assumed evidential based on general knowledge,(-pa bet, -ken bet, jøk-ken bet, bet)
4. Inference from sensory observation of the results evidentiality strategy, (-tuk)
5. Inference from circumstancial evidence, (marked by -køppet, jøppet)
6. "Hearsay", ( disclaimer particle lo)

We cannot really put the quotative in the table 13.24. Speaker disclaims his reponsibility as to the truth value by quoting someone else. Yet the quotation itself may rank very high in certainty scale and would be one of those six options in the table.

Lhomis always prefer to use direct quotation rather than committing themselves to use other evidentials when talking about someone else. In doing so they disclaim
themselves as for the certainty of their assertion. No one can later blame them for lying since they have quoted someone else.

\section*{14. Clause}

\subsection*{14.1 Introduction to Lhomi clause and clause types}

Long time ago we wrote a paper to describe the Lhomi clause patterns. We used the nine-cells system developed by Kenneth Pike and Austin Hale in 70s (see Vesalainen, Olavi and Marja. 1980. Clause patterns in Lhomi. [Pacific Linguistics Series B -- No. 53], Canberra: Department of Linguistics, The Australian National University). It has worked fairly well so far. However this may be the time to change the basic framework for clause which we used in those days.

Givon talks about relative topicality of the argument roles as the key to grammatical relations within the clause and gives the following topical hierarchy for semantic roles (Givón, Talmy. 2001. Syntax, An Introduction Vol. 1 Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins:200):

\section*{agent > dative/benefactive > patient > locative > others}

He also gives the following definitions of main semantic roles (Givón, Talmy. 2001. Syntax, An introduction, Vol. I, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins:107):
- agent \(=\) The participant, typically animate, who acts deliberately to initiate the event, and thus bears the responsibility for it (Agt).
- \(\quad\) patient \(=\) The participant, either animate or inanimate, that either is in the state or registers a change-of-state as a result of an event (Pat).
- dative \(=\) a conscious participant in the event, typically animate, but not the deliberate initiator (Dat).
- instrument = a participant, typically inanimate, used by the agent to peform the action (Instr).
- benefactive = the participant, typically animate, for whose benefit the action is performed (Ben).
- locative \(=\) the place, typically concrete and inanimate, where the state is, where the event occurs, or toward which or away from which some participant is moving (Loc).
- associative = an associate of the agent, patient or dative of the event, whose role in the event is similar, but who is not as important (Assoc).
- manner = the manner in which an event occurs or an agent performed the action (Mann)."
Furthermore Givon makes the following list of what he calls "constraints on mapping from semantic relations to grammatical relations." (Givón, Talmy. 2001. Syntax, An introduction, Vol. I. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.108):

Throughout this paper I have marked semantic roles in bold.
a. An agent can only be the subject.
b. A patient can only be a subject or direct object.
c. A dative can be a subject, direct object or indirect object.
d. All other semantic roles can only be indirect objects.

Table 14.1 Semantic argument structure of Lhomi clause
Semantic roles
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|l|l|l|l|l|}
\hline & agent & patient & dative & instrument & locative & associative & examples \\
\hline BT1 & ERG & ABS & DAT & & & & 14.1 \\
\hline BT2 & ERG & ABS & & & & COM & 14.2 \\
\hline BT3 & ERG & ABS & & INS & & & 14.3 \\
\hline BT4 & ERG & ABS & & & DAT & & 14.4 \\
\hline BT5 & ERG & ABS & & & ABL & & 14.5 \\
\hline BT6 & & ABS & DAT & INS & & & \(14.6-7\) \\
\hline T1 & ERG & ABS & & & & & 14.8 \\
\hline T2 & ERG & DAT & & & & & \(14.9-11\) \\
\hline T3 & & ABS & & INS & & & 14.12 \\
\hline ST1 & ABS & & & & DAT/ABL & & \(14.13-15\) \\
\hline ST2 & ABS & & DAT & & & & 14.16 \\
\hline I & ABS & & & & & & \(14.17-21\) \\
\hline BR1 & & ABS & DAT & & & & \(14.22-27\) \\
\hline BR2 & & ABS & & & & & \(14.30-32\) \\
\hline BR3 & & & ABS & & & & 14.33 \\
\hline BR4 & & ABS & ABS & & & 14.34 \\
\hline BR5 & & & ABS & & & & 14.35 \\
\hline BR6 & & & ABS & INS & & & \(14.36-37\) \\
\hline BR7 & & ABS & ERG & & & \(14.38-39\) \\
\hline BR8 & & DAT & ERG & & & \(14.40-44\) \\
\hline R1 & & & ABS & & & & \(14.45-47\), \\
\hline R2 & & ABS & & & & & \(14.48-58\) \\
\hline SR1 & & & & & & & 14.52 \\
\hline SR2 & & & & INS & & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

In the table 14.1 the left hand column lists the clause types. Other columns to the right give the various semantic roles that typically occur in simple clauses of Lhomi. In this chart I have followed very closely what Hale \& Shrestha have done on Newar clause. (Hale, Austin and Kedar P. Shrestha. 2006, Newār (Nepāl Bhāsā). [Languages of the World/Materials 256], München: Lincom Europa. Pp.172-89). The examples follow and the grammatical case markings of the semantic roles of each clause type are explained with them.

\subsection*{14.1.1 Bi-transitive clause}

A bi-transitive clause has a role of an agent and two non-agentive roles. It is the case markings of these two roles that define the subtypes. Agent is the grammatical subject in this clause type and it is always in ergative case. If the agent/subject of any agentive clause type is not overtly stated it is somehow retrievable from the context. In other words Lhomi does not have passive. Type BT1 has a dative case marked dative (semantic role) and absolutive patient. Unlike Hale \& Shrestha have done, I prefer to use dative rather than experiencer because I have been talking about experiencer in a different sense, in section 13. on evidentiality. In order not to confuse the grammatical cases and semantic roles I have always used the bold type for semantic roles. All case markings are underlined in the following examples:

Type BT1 has dative case marked dative and absolutive marked patient. The basic order is dative----patient.
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
14.1 & 'am-e & phitsa-la & tuwa & 'luk-son. \\
& mother-ERG & child-DAT & porridge & put-PST.VIS \\
& 'Mother fed the food to the baby.'
\end{tabular}

Givon discusses word-order and topicality and argues: "The more important referent is placed first." (Givón, Talmy. 2001. Syntax, An Introduction Vol. II. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins:270.) In my current example the dative case marked IO 'child' is more important than the direct object which follows it.

Type BT2 has comitative marked associative and absolutive patient. The basic order in a clause is associative---patient. This is a non-prototypical bi-transitive verb which has an associative participant. Givon calls it "a reciprocal event" (Givón, Talmy. 2001. Syntax, An Introduction Vol. I, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins:131). In fact there are two co-agents here but one is downgraded to associative participant. Lhomi has other agentive verbs like this, e.g. 'thuk 'to fight with someone', dzom 'to join with someone'.
```

14.2 'ani-ki ya-tan tameu lap-t6uj.
aunt-ERG 1SG-COM conversation talk-PST.EXP
'Aunt conversed with me.'

```

Type BT3 has instrument case marked instrument and absolutive patient. The basic order is patient---instrument.
\begin{tabular}{llll}
14.3 & ク-e & saru & 'waa-ki
\end{tabular}\(\quad\) daa-pen. \(\quad\) bind-1PST

Type BT4 has absolutive marked patient and dative marked location. The basic order is location---patient.
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
14.4 & \begin{tabular}{l} 
phits-e
\end{tabular} & tepal-ki & 'thok-la & 'saru & sak-son. \\
child-ERG table-GEN & on.top-DAT \\
& 'The child put the ladle on the table.'
\end{tabular}

Type BT5 has ablative case marked location/source and absolutive marked patient. The basic order in a clause is location - patient.
14.5 u-ki pempu di-ki 'kha tsik-ni tsilaa 'pii tøm-pa bet.
that-GEN official DEF-ERG mouth one-ABL tongue two show-NMLZ;Q AUX
'That official showed two tongues from one mouth.'
This is an idiom meaning that one tells lies. The source in this one is more important than the DO 'two tongues'. Therefore it comes first.

The next illustration demonstrates how instrument case marked instrument may be the subject of a proto-typical transitive clause. I call this one BT6 and it has dative marked dative and absolutive patient. (see Givón, Talmy. 2001.Syntax, An introduction, Vol. II. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins:130). The basic order is instrument--dative.
14.6 'tshø di-ki phitsa-la 'nøppa 'thup-ken bet.
color DEF-INS child-DAT evil.spirit protect-NMLZ;CONJ AUX 'It is the (black) color which protects the baby against the evil spirits.'
It is customary in Nepal to paint the eyes of a baby with black color for the above reason. If the subject is animate the clause is of type BT1, e.g. dak-y ŋa-la 'nøppa 'thuptsung. 'The friend protected me against evil spirits'.

\section*{14.7 'ryk-ki juukan-la t6øn 'tohimmu tan-son. \\ landslide-INS village-DAT damage large send;vbzr-PST.VIS}
'The landslide caused a lot of damage to the village.'
In this example there is no animate agent at all. Givon talks about "agent causer" and "metaphoric extentions of transitive -subject prototype to instrument-subject" (Givón, Talmy. 2001. Syntax, An introduction, Vol. I. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins:130). Lhomis seem to regard the landslide or an angry god as being the agent of the landslide.

\subsection*{14.1.2 Transitive clause}

A transitive clause has two semantic roles, agent and patient. The former is marked in ergative case and the latter is either in absolutive or dative case. Most inanimate patients are absolutive but not always, see the example 14.11. Some verbs simply require dative case marking and others absolutive case marking for their patient. In the examples below ergative and dative case markings are underlined.

Type T1 has absolutive patient. This is because the patient is inanimate. Grammatically patient is the object in this clause.
\begin{tabular}{llll}
14.8 & \begin{tabular}{ll} 
pap-e & tuwa \\
father-ERG porridge & se-son. \\
& eat-PST.VIS \\
& 'Father ate a meal.'
\end{tabular}
\end{tabular}

Type T2 has dative case marked dative which is animate.

\subsection*{14.9 J-e gotta-la duy-en. \\ 1SG-ERG 3SG-DAT beat-1PST \\ 'I beat him up.'}

\subsection*{14.10 'mempaa-ki 'mik-la te-tsuy. \\ doctor-ERG eye-DAT look[PST]-PST.EXP \\ 'The doctor looked at (my) eye.'}

It is the evidentiality strategy marker -tsun on the finite verb that tells the hearer that the doctor looked into the eye of the speaker. The eye is a possessed item of the speaker. There is more about this in chapter 13 on evidentials.
\(\begin{array}{llllll}14.11 & \text { juu-paa } & \text { kurik-ki } & \begin{array}{ll}\text { 'tsheppa-la } & \text { guu-pa }\end{array} & \text { bet. } \\ & \text { village-HUM2 } & \text { all-ERG } & \text { rain-DAT } & \text { wait-NMLZ;Q } & \text { AUX }\end{array}\)
'All the villagers waited for the rain.'
The basic order of this T3 type is instrument---patient.

\subsection*{14.12 'tshu-taa-ki \\ alin taa-son. \\ water-grinding-INS corn grind-PST.VIS \\ 'The water mill ground the corn.'}

This clause illustrates how an instrument case marked instrument may be a subject of a prototypical transitive clause. Among Lhomis water mills are run by water and they cannot be used as instruments of a human agent like a hand grinder can. The clause above is perfectly acceptable. Givon talks about this in his book. (Givon, Talmy. Syntax, An Introduction Vol.I, Amsterdam and Philadelphia:John Benjamins:130).

\subsection*{14.1.3 Semitransitive clause}

A semitransitive clause has two semantic roles, agent and locative, ST1. The former is always marked in absolutive case and the latter is marked either by ablative or dative case. Based on this Lhomi can be classified as a split-ergative language, the actors in bi-transitive and transitive clauses are marked in ergative case but in semitransitive and intransitive clauses in absolutive. It is the agent which is the grammatical subject. The example 14.15 illustrates the locative role as a source.

Type ST1 has absolutive marked agent and dative or ablative marked locative.
14.13 ŋа thakuk-ki 'thok-la dze-pen.

1SG overhang-GEN on.top-DAT climb-1PST
'I climbed to the top of an overhang.'
14.14 j-e thopu 'khim-ki naj-la suu-tsun.

1SG-GEN b.friend house-GEN inside-DAT enter-PST.EXP
'My bond friend entered the house (while I was there).'
The evidentiality strategy marker in the finite verb entails that the speaker was inside the house when the event took place.

\subsection*{14.15 'tchu-ni 'thøn-ni} water-ABL come.out-NFNT2
dzap than dzimlok-ki hok-la gon-ken bet. (TE50)
rock and vegetation-GEN under-DAT hide-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Having come out of the water (of a creek) it (barking deer) hides among rocks and vegetation.'

Type ST2 has absolutive marked agent and dative marked dative.
\begin{tabular}{llcllll}
14.16 & \(\mathbf{u}-\mathrm{ki}\) & mi & \(\mathbf{u}-\mathbf{l a}\) & 'nøppa & suu-pa & bet. \\
& that-GEN & man & that-DAT & evil.spirit & enter-NMLZ;Q & AUX
\end{tabular}
'An evil spirit entered that person.'
This is a common way for Lhomis to talk about possession. In this example the dative is topicalized and fronted but normally the order is agent---dative

\subsection*{14.1.4 Intransitive clause}

An intransitive clause I has only one role, an agent which is the grammatical subject of the clause. It is always marked in absolutive case.
```

14.17 daku loj-son.
friend rise.up-PST.VIS
'The friend rose up.'

```
14.18 phitsa \(\quad \mathrm{Y}\)-son.
child weep-PST.VIS
'The child wept.'
This is a volitional verb. Lhomi has other ways to construct an unvolitional crying.
```

14.19 sumpu naa-son.
cat go.to.sleep-PST.VIS
'The cat went to sleep.' Or: 'The cat laid down for sleep.'

```

\subsection*{14.20 nam loy-son. \\ darkness rise.up-PST.VIS \\ 'Sun rose.'}

For Lhomis it is the darkness that rises up when there is a sunrise. This noun nam occurs only in some meterological idioms like this. Some Tibetan-English dictionaries have listed the entry nam with the English meaning 'night', (see e.g. Das, Sarat Chandra \& Graham Sandberg \& Augustus William Heyde 1902 A Tibetan-English dictionary, with Sanskrit synonyms. 1st Edition - Calcutta, 1902. Reprint: Delhi, 1979 Motilal Banarsidass:736). The Lhomi word has apparently lost its original meaning and refers only to 'darkness' now.

\subsection*{14.21 jima tohøn-son.}
sun go[HON]-PST.VIS
'Sun begins to set.' Lit.'Sun has gone.'
In this example the noun 'sun' is the inanimate agent of the honorific verb 'to go'. Perhaps Lhomis have in the past worshipped sun as a god. They use this idiom when sun has gone behind the surrounding hills, 1-2 hours before sunset. Obviously this idiom is applicable only in local hilly environment.

\subsection*{14.1.5 Bi-receptive clause}

A bi-receptive clause (BR) has no role of an agent. Type BR1 has two roles, dative case marked dative which is the grammatical subject and absolutive patient. It is the semantic role dative that controls certain verbal markers in these verbs and is the concious participant. Therefore I have chosen to regard it as the subject in this clause type. The basic order is dative---patient.
```

14.22 \etaа-la dukкi no\eta-tкu\eta.
1SG-DAT hardship experience-PST.EXP
'I experienced a hard time.'

```

In the following example the grammatical subject is the patient. The basic order is patient---dative:
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
14.23 & gotta & y-e & ki-la & dzii-son. \\
3SG & ISG-GEN & dog-DAT & be.afraid-PST.VIS
\end{tabular}
'He got afraid of my dog.'
Some existentials fit into type BR1 too. In the next examples the subject is the dative marked dative. I have talked more about existentials in 13.2.3. The basic order is dative---patient. Consider the following examples:
\begin{tabular}{llll}
14.24 & ki-la & kisikpa & duk. \\
& dog-DAT & flea & EXIST.VIS \\
& 'The dog has fleas.' &
\end{tabular}
14.25 na-la 'jaa toik jøt.

1SG-DAT big.drum one EXIST.EXP
'I have a big drum. Or: I possess a big drum.' (Lit. 'There is a big drum for me.')
14.26 ni ma di hi-ki gen di 'phurpu 'aŋtsuk-ki

CONTR1 DEF this-GEN responsibility DEF 'phurpu 'angtcuk-ERG
'khur-na tohi-ni ya-la gesa 'tohimmu tohun. (TE13)
carry-NFNT1 do;vbzr-NFNT2 1SG-DAT joy great become[PST]
'Because Phurpu Angtøuk actually will carry the reponsibility of that, I became really happy.' Lit....great joy became to me.'

This is the same clause type as the previous one. However this is the eventive counterpart of ŋa-la gesa 't6himmu jøt. Another observation is that the past verb root of tshun without finite suffixes signals 1.person subject. The verb tshuŋ does inflect normally e.g. tshuŋ-son, tshuŋ-a bet etc.This further strengthens the analysis that the dative marked dative is the subject of the main clause. To my knowledge this verb trhun does not participate in evidential scheme like jøt and duk do. There is more about "stand alone verb roots" in chapter 12.6.

\subsection*{14.27 gotta-la 'khim tsik jøk-ken bet. \\ 3SG-DAT house one EXIST-NMLZ;CONJ AUX \\ 'He has a house.'}

Type BR2 has absolutive marked patient which is the grammatical subject and inessive or dative marked locative. Patient may be either animate or inanimate.
\(14.28 \begin{array}{lll}\text { 'thonpa } & \text { 'khim-ki } & \text { loo-na } \\ \text { plough } & \text { house-GEN } & \text { beside-IN }\end{array}\)
duk.
plough house-GEN beside-IN
EXIST.VIS
'The plough is beside the house.'
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
14.29 & 'pima & rap-la & jøk-ken & bet. \\
& ear & basket-DAT & EXIST-NMLZ;CONJ & AUX
\end{tabular}
'The ears are in the drying basket.

Type BR3 has absolutive dative and ablative or dative marked locative. It is the patient which is the subject and the locative is the indirect object.
14.30 рара
'khim-na
duk.
father house-IN EXIST.VIS
'Father is in the house.'
14.31 ŋа doŋpu-ni 'tshar-tcuŋ.

1SG tree-ABL fall.down-PST.EXP
'I fell down from a tree.'
14.32 tuwa 'nøtt6a-la '60ク-son.
porridge pot-DAT fit-PST.VIS
'The porridge fitted into a pot.'
The pot was large enough.

Type BR4 has absolutive dative and absolutive patient. The subject is the first one.
14.33 ŋа уе-яikpa dzak-kuk.

1SG strength-undoing vbzr-PROG;VIS
'I am fainting, totally exhausted.'

Type BR5 has two arguments, absolutive marked dative and comitative case marked associative. The basic order is dative--associative.
```

14.34 roo uko-tan dza-ken bet.
3SG that-COM get.along-NMLZ;CONJ AUX

```
    'He gets along well with him.'

Type BR6 has two arguments, instrument marked instrument and absolutive marked dative. The basic order is dative---instrument.

\subsection*{14.35 'we 'trhøttcan-ki si-na 'khur-tuk. (TE4)}

SCA beer[HON]-INS get.drunk-NFNT1 carry-PRF.VIS
'Listen/look, they have gotten totally drunk by beer!'
Subject (dative) of this example is left implicit and refers to some participants of a drinking party.

Type BR7 has two arguments, ergative marked dative and absolutive marked patient. It is the dative which is the grammatical subject and the conscious participant. This verb type (so called PCU verb) does occur frequently in texts because they are so common in every day speech, e.g. 'to hear, to see, to understand, to know, to think, to say.' The basic order is dative---patient.
14.36 u-ki \(\quad\)-e kettea 'ha
khoo-ken
bet.
that-ERG 1SG-GEN language aud.impact hear;understand-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'He understands my language.'

\subsection*{14.37 gott-e tohatsumma u-ko 'thon-ken bet.}

3SG-ERG wild.bird that-head see-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'He sees that bird.'

Type BR8 has two arguments, ergative marked dative and dative marked patient which may be either animate or inanimate. It is the former which is the grammatical subject.
\begin{tabular}{ll}
14.38 u-p-e & nittuwa-la \\
that-PL2-ERG rel.holiday-DAT bii-kuk. \\
breach-PROG;VIS
\end{tabular},
14.39 ŋ-e 'thim-la jii-son.

1SG-ERG law-DAT breach-PST.VIS
'I breached the law.'
This is also an unvolitional verb. This verb does not combine with -pen (1PST) which would mark it definitely as an agentive verb. It becomes a genuine transitive verb only when nominalized and transitivity is raised by adding another verb, e.g. ... pii-pa tohipen.

\subsection*{14.1.6 Receptive clause}

Receptive clause has only one nuclear argument. Type R1 has absolutive marked animate datives. Dative is the conscious participant in this clause type and grammatical subject. Consider the following illustrations:

\subsection*{14.40 クis-so 'tshaa-tsuy. \\ 1PL.EXCL-PL1 feel.cold-PST.EXP \\ 'We felt cold.' Or: 'We began to feel cold'}
14.41 ŋа khaa-son.

1SG become.tired-PST.VIS
'I got tired.'
Evidentiality strategy of experience/participation is reduced with this clause and therefore both forms are acceptable.

This example of type R1 has copular verb with predicate nominal:
\begin{tabular}{cccc}
14.42 & 'aku & 'Ihakpa & pempu \\
uncle Lhakpa & headman & COP
\end{tabular}
14.43 na 'lo di-ntikma duk.

1SG will warm.up-ADJVZR EXIST.VIS
'I am happy and free of worries. Lit. my inner being is warm.'
The NP which has the noun and modifying adjective is the predicate nominal of this clause. Existentials may have predicate nominals and predicate adjectives, just like the copular has in 14.42.
14.44 ŋа 'khe-si hin.

1SG skill-INTNS COP.EXP
'I am really smart/skilled’

Type R2 has inanimate absolutive patients.
14.45 tuwa 'tshø-tuk.
porridge become.cooked-PRF.VIS
'Porridge got well cooked.'

Type R2 with predicate adjectives.
14.46 jima 'tshas-si duk.
sun be.hot-INTNS EXIST.VIS
'Sun is very hot.' Or:'It is very hot weather.'
\begin{tabular}{cll}
14.47 & tuwa & kantsaapa \\
porridge & thick & duk. \\
& EXIST.VIS
\end{tabular}
'The millet porridge is thick.'

\subsection*{14.1.7 Semireceptive clause}

Semireceptive clause type SR1 has only locative role which is marked in dative or inessive case. Examples 14.48-51 have predicate adjectives and they illustrate this type of clause.
\(\begin{array}{lllll}14.48 & \text { 'khim-ki } & \text { nan-la } & \text { nak } & \text { 'thini-ja } \\ & \text { house-GEN } & \text { inside-DAT } & \text { black } & \text { darkness-ADJVZR }\end{array}\) EXIST.VIS 'It is extremely dark in the house.'
\begin{tabular}{rll}
14.49 \\
car-DAT & namsan & duk. \\
shaky & EXIST.VIS
\end{tabular}
'It is shaky in the car (while it moves).'
14.50 jampu-na

Kathmandu-IN
'tchaa-si
feel.cold-INTSN

\section*{duk.}

EXIST.VIS
'It is very cold in Kathmandu.'
14.51 saar-na nak 'thini tshuŋ-son.
city-IN black darkness become-PST.VIS
'It became dark in the city.'
This happens when there is a power failure.

Type SR2 has instrument case marked instrument. The next example is a meteorological term which refers to very hot weather.
```

14.52 \etaim-e 'tshik-kuk.
sun-INS burn-PROG;VIS
'Sun really burns.'

```

It is worthy to note that equative copular verbs hin/bet may have nominal predicates and existential verbs jøt/duk may have adjectival predicates. I often talk about existential verbs because morphologically these two verbs jøt and duk have nothing in common. The latter is supposed to be a grammaticalized form of Old Tibetan 'dug (spelling as in the source) which used to mean 'to sit, live, stay'. (see Jackson T.\& Sun S.1993. Evidentials in Amdo Tibetan. Reprinted from The Bulletin of the Institude of History and Philology. Academia Sinica Vol. LXIII, Part IV,Taipei Taiwan, China:974). This makes sense to me.

Existentials can also be used in equative clauses (existential equative), e.g. 14.4647. Though there is some overlap in use I still call the verbs hin/bet copulas and jøt/duk existentials.

\subsection*{14.1.8 Some meteorological verbs}

Some nouns combine with what I have called semantically empty verbalizers like dzak or ton. These verbalizers have no lexical content but yet they function as finite verbs in a clause. There is more about that in section 12.2 under heading "Semantically empty grammatical heads". The following examples give an idea of some meteorological and other verbs relating to natural phenomena:

Type R2 with inanimate absolutive marked patient.

\subsection*{14.53 't6heppa dzak-kuk. (TE97)}
rain vbzr-PROG;VIS
'It rains.'
The subject 'rain' is not a 'dummy' noun but it actually collocates with other verbs and it really has the sense 'rain'.

\subsection*{14.54 'sajøn gatcen dzap-a bet. \\ tremors many vbzr-NMLZ;Q AUX \\ 'A lot of tremors took place.'}

This refers to minor earthquake that only has tremors but does not really cause damage. The patient is the NP but the verbalizer is lexically empty.

\subsection*{14.55 'nam 'sen-son.}
sky clear.up-PST.VIS
'Sky cleared up.'
It has been overcast and then clears up.

\subsection*{14.56 'nam-san toj-kuk.}
sky-good send;vbzr-PROG;VIS
'It is sunny day.'
The verb ton here is another verbalizer which is 'dummy'. It is tempting to think that this has had an agent (a god) which has been dropped nowadays.
```

14.57 tøn '\&ar-so\eta.
fall.season start-PST.VIS
'Fall season started.'

```
14.58 ја u-ki 'sane di phyt-tsøt-la jima 'єar-a bet.
    1SG that-GEN place DEF leave-time-DAT sun start-NMLZ;Q AUX
    'When I was leaving that place sun began to shine.'
    This refers to the point of time when the sun begins to shine, 1-2 hours after
sunrise. This has no reference to the sky being overcast before.

\subsection*{14.2 Tense}

Tense relates the time of a given clause to the time of the context.

There are at least six different grammatical ways in Lhomi to signal it: verb root, direct evidential marker, evidentiality strategy marker, aspect marker, negative prefix, time adverb and the context. Any combination of these six may take part in signalling the tense. Hardly ever one of these markers signals tense alone.
"Absolute tense is alien to Sino-Tibetan languages and perhaps to languages of South-East Asia in general." (Jackson T.\& Sun S.1993. Evidentials in Amdo Tibetan. Reprinted from The Bulletin of the Institude of History and Philology. Academia Sinica Vol. LXIII, Part IV,Taipei Taiwan, China:971). This is true of Lhomi.

Table 14.2 Various ways Lhomi marks tense in finite verbs
1. Evidentiality
2. Aspect \(\leftarrow\)
3. Time adverb Tense
4. Verb root
5. Context

6. Negative prefix or negative suffix

A verbal suffix or a verbal suffix plus 1-2 auxiliaries in a finite verb may signal the following combinations of evidentiality, aspect and tense in Lhomi:

> \begin{tabular}{|l|} \hline Evidentiality + Aspect + Tense \\ \hline \end{tabular}

Evidentiality + Tense
Evidentiality + Aspect
Aspect + Tense

\section*{Tense}

As grammatical systems evidentiality strategies, direct evidentials, aspect and tense seem to be overlapping in Lhomi. It is the evidentiality strategy and direct evidentials that dominate and override everything, see more in chapter 13. This does not mean that e.g. tense is insignificant, it is always marked somehow.

There are at least six different ways in Lhomi to signal tense as the list in table 14.2 shows. Any combination of these six may take part in signalling tense. Typically tense of the finite verb determines the tense of all non-finite or medial verbs preceeding it but not always, see e.g. 8.14. There is no tense marker as such in any finite verb that only signals tense, except the past verb root standing alone, see more in section 18.5.

It is not uncommon in Lhomi to have a single verbal suffix which marks evidentiality strategy, direct evidential, aspect and tense. In the list 14.2 of grammatical categories the tense is the least important.

Each Lhomi verb may have up to three phonologically different roots (see tables 12.112 ). Some verbs have only two and some may have all alike. These three different roots have been labelled as nonpast root (base), past root and imperative root. Lhomi verb root is a free morpheme on which a string of up to three suffixes can be attached. Each verbal suffix combines typically with only one of the three verb roots of the finite verb. There are exceptions. Occasionally I have marked the verb roots of the finite verbs also with one of those three root labels, e.g. se eat[PST] , 'thun drink[NPST]. I have followed Givon's definition for tense (Givón, Talmy. 2001. Syntax, An introduction, Vol. I. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins:285). There are only two absolute tenses marked in Lhomi: past and nonpast, see also PPRF in section 14.2.3.

\subsection*{14.2.1 Past tense}

When a finite verb is marked for past tense it typically describes a terminated event in Lhomi.

On the other hand it can also be used for events that have taken place immediately before they are related. There is no single grammatical marker that marks the past tense only. Therefore I have used a morpheme gloss that shows only the primary grammatical meaning of the verbal suffix or sometimes two glosses for two meanings.

Copulas hin/bet and existentials jøt/duk as finite verbs have no marking for the past tense. It is the context or time adverbs which mark the past tense for those verbs. However these verbs do inflect for past perfect tense, which is used for parenthetical information, see section on past perfect tense in 14.2.3.

In the next example past tense is marked by the past root and the finite suffix whose primary meaning is 1SG.

Clause type T1
14.59 n-e tuwa

1SG-ERG porridge eat[PST]-1PST
'I ate the millet porridge.' Or.'I ate my meal'.
Clause type T1
\(\begin{array}{lllll}\mathbf{1 4 . 6 0} & \text { pap-e } & \text { 'khim } & \text { hi-ko } & \text { 'khattsan } \\ \text { father-ERG } & \text { house } & \text { this-head } & \text { few.weeks.ago make[PST]-NMLZ;Q } & \text { bet. }\end{array}\)
'The father built this house few weeks ago.'
In this one past tense is signalled by both past root and the marker -pa bet which marks the direct evidential assumption based on common knowledge.

Clause type R2
14.61 'tsheppa
rain

\section*{dzap-son}
vbzr[PST]-PST.VIS
'It rained.' Or 'It began to rain'.
This one may refer either to a recent start of raining or raining in the past viewed as an event. Only the context will tell when the event took place. Past tense is marked by both the verb root and the direct sensory observation marker -son whose primary grammatical meaning is sensory observation.

Clause type R1 with time adverb

\subsection*{14.62 ŋа daŋ}

1SG yesterday

\section*{khaa-son.}
'I got tired yesterday.'
Time adverb fixes the point of time in the past. This verb root does not change the vowel.

Clause type BR3

\subsection*{14.63 ŋа}
donpu-ni 'tshar-tsuy.
1SG
tree-ABL fall.down-PST.EXP
'I fell down from a tree.'
Context will tell more acccurately the point of time in the past. The secondary meaning of the direct experience evidentiality strategy marker -tcun is past tense.
14.64 ŋа 'khennup doypu-ni 'tshar-t6un.

1SG day.before.yesterday tree-ABL fall.down-PST.EXP
'I fell down from a tree day before yesterday.'
The time adverb specifies the exact time of the event, day before yesterday.
Clause type BR6

'The forest fire burned the mother. It burned the child. They died.'
This example shows how primary information in a story may be marked by the finite verb roots without suffixes. Tense is signalled by the past roots and the context. Actually in this case tense is signalled by the context alone since the past root of 'tshik happens to be the same as the nonpast root. There is more about this in sections 17.2 and 18.5.

Clause type BR1

\subsection*{14.66 sempun-nala t6hi-ni}

Sempung-ALL do;vbzr-NFNT2
makpa 'khaluy-nala 'khaa teattiri duk. (TE21)
makpa 'khalung-ALL snow briliant EXIST.VIS
'After I got to Sempung area there was brilliant white snow in Makpa Khalung area.'

This example is from a travel narrative which uses past tense as the backbone throughout the text. Narrator sees from a distance that the area of Makpa Khalung is covered by bright snow. It is the context which marks the finite verb as past tense in English. The existential verb in Lhomi does not inflect for past tense.

\subsection*{14.2.2 Nonpast tense}

Nonpast tense in Lhomi may refer to something which takes place right after the speech event or next day or even later. The context will specify it. Nonpast suffixes of the finite verb combine with nonpast roots. As stated before they often have multiple grammatical meanings in addition to tense, e.g. aspect or evidentiality. Nonpast tense in Lhomi covers both present and future as Givon uses these two terms (Givón, Talmy. 2001. Syntax, An introduction, Vol. I. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins:286) There is no single grammatical verbal affix for future tense in Lhomi.

The suffix I have marked as CONJ is actually a grammaticalized form of one of the verb nominalizers, -ken. When the suffix -ken marks the conjunct nonpast it combines only with agentive verbs. On the other hand the verb nominalizer (-ken, NMLZ) combines with all types of verbs. There is more about subject nominalization in chapter 16.1 on relative clauses.

I have not found a neat way to separate present and future tenses in Lhomi. Therefore I talk about nonpast tense only. Consider the following examples (the markers are underlined):

Clause type I

\subsection*{14.67 phitsa}
child

\author{
ju-kuk. \\ weep[NPST]-PROG;VIS
}
'Baby is crying (now).'
The primary grammatical meaning of this marker here is to mark direct sensory observation and secondly to mark progressive aspect. It never combines with past verb roots and therefore it marks also nonpast tense. The verb is volitional. Lhomi also has an unvolitional modality construction for crying e.g. gotta ŋu '6or-son 'he burst out into crying.

Clause type T1
14.68 'mikma 'supmar-e patan di pik-ken
'mikma 'sungmara-ERG sword DEF unsheath[NPST]-NMLZ;CONJ
sin-ni pik 'mat-thuu. (TE17)
say-NFNT2 unsheath NEG-be.able[PST]
'Having said: "I unsheath my sword", Mikma sungmara wasn't able to unsheath it.' The matrix verb is in past tense (neg. prefix) but the quotation is nonpast.

Clause type T1
\(\begin{array}{rll}14.69 & \text { 'am-e } & \text { raari } \\ \text { mother-ERG } & \text { tak-køt. } \\ & \text { blanket } & \text { weave-PROG;EXP }\end{array}\)
'(My) mother is in process of weaving a blanket.'
This suffix primarily marks progressive aspect but also experience/participation relation (kinship in this). It only combines with nonpast verb roots.

Clause type BR3
\begin{tabular}{ccc}
14.70 & nempet luk & 'thøn-ken \\
tomorrow & sheep & appear-NMLZ;CONJ \\
'Tomorrow the sheep will come.' (TE6)
\end{tabular}
'Tomorrow the sheep will come.'
In this example speaker knows that the whole flock of sheep is going to come next day. It is only the time adverb that enables the hearer to understand that this refers to next day.

Clause type BR7

\subsection*{14.71 thaypuu-ki gem-paa khajek-ki kha-ntuk tohi-tuk=ka \\ in.the.past-GEN duty-COMP2 plural-ERG what-ADVZR do;vbzr-PRF.VIS=Q \\ u-ko 'khit khajek-ki 'ha khoo-kuk=ka? (TE46) \\ that-head 2PL plural-ERG aud.impact hear;understand-PROG;VIS=Q \\ 'Do you understand in what manner your leaders/elders lived in the past?' \\ This is a correlative clause and also a rhetorical question. Speaker is addressing the whole village.}

\subsection*{14.2.3 Past perfect tense}

According to Givon (Givón, Talmy. 2001. Syntax, An introduction, Vol. I. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins:294) the event time of past perfect precedes the reference time line which precedes the time of speech.

This tense in Lhomi is only used for giving background or parenthetical information about a participant of a story or an event. The tense is marked by the string of suffixes -køp-pa which is attached to the auxiliary hin and an additional auxiliary bet is added. The main verb has past root and suffix -pa. In other words there is no marker as such to mark PPRF but it is the whole construction that marks it. In this construction the suffix -køt in the middle has lost completely its typical grammatical meanings PROG;EXP. The same is true of the copula hin COP.EXP and the existential jøt EXIST.EXP. Past perfect tense combines with most verb types.

It is interesting that also copula and existentials inflect for this tense. The string of suffixes -køp-pa is actually the same string of suffixes which marks the habitual aspect (see chapter 14.3.1) when attached to the verb root. However the habitual aspect never combines with existentials and copulas.

Like the table 14.3 shows two auxiliaries are needed to mark PPRF. This tense is translated into English usually as 'there was, had been, was, had spoken' etc. The primary grammatical meaning of this construction is not to mark the tense but to mark the parenthetical information which may be on reference line or prior to reference line. I still prefer to call it past perfect tense.

The following chart shows how the PPRF tense is marked with various verbs:
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \multicolumn{4}{|r|}{Table 14.3 Past perfect tense in some finite verbs} \\
\hline bet & & hin-køp-pa & bet. \\
\hline COP & & COP-PROG;EXP-NMZL;Q & AUX \\
\hline jøk-ken & bet & jøp-pa bet. & \\
\hline EXIST-NMLZ;CONJ & AUX & EXIST-NMLZ;Q AUX & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

PST
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
'6ep-pa \\
speak-NMLZ;Q & \(\frac{\text { bet }}{\text { AUX }}\)
\end{tabular}\(\quad\)\begin{tabular}{l} 
'sep-pa \\
speak-NMLZ;Q
\end{tabular}\(\quad\)\begin{tabular}{l} 
hin-køp-pa \\
AUX-PROG;EXP-NMLZ;Q
\end{tabular}\(\frac{\text { bet. }}{\text { AUX }}\)

Past perfect marking parenthetical information on finite copular and existential verbs
In the following example the narrator inserts a parenthetical copular clause which tells what kind of a woman the new wife was:
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
14.72 & 'si-na & 'khur-ni & kantsi & tsik & 'thik-pa \\
& die-NFNT1 carry-NFNT2 & second.wife & INDF & marry-NMLZ;Q AUX
\end{tabular}
kantsi di 'rimmu hin-køp-pa bet. second.wife DEF cannibal COP-PROG;EXP-NMLZ;Q AUX
hi-ni kantsi di na-ja bet. (TE41)
this-ABL second.wife DEF get.sick-NMLZ;Q AUX
'After his wife died he married a second wife. The second wife was or had been a cannibal. Then the second wife got sick.'

There is a clear event line in TE41 and it is marked by past tense. The narrator of the story inserts important parenthetical information about the second wife who was a cannibal at the time. This fact later had serious consequences to other participants of the story. The preceding and the following sentences are in past tense which is the time line of the story. In English the best translation is 'was'. The inserted clause is part of participant orientation, (see Levinsohn, Stephen H. and Bob Dooley. 2001. Analyzing discourse: A manual of basic concepts. Dallas: SIL International:82).
14.73 ni yima bajke u-ko [ 'wantsaa 'rinen-ki
nima banke that-head 'wantsaa 'rinen-GEN field
sa-ken
eat-NMLZ;CONJ
khajek-ki 'tshik-ni tsik ] u-ko hin-køp-pa bet. (TE55) plural-GEN amongst-ABL INDF that-head COP-PROG;EXP-NMLZ;Q AUX 'That Ngima Banke was [one of those who had been using] Wantea Rinen's fields.'

A new episode begins in this complex story and the narrator tells this background information about Ngima Banke. This piece of background refers to something that had happened before the story line. It is the headless relative clause and past perfect construction of the copular verb (underlined) which marks it.
14.74 thaypuu ajekpa sik-ken 'phattaapa 'elam-e 'tshay
in.the.past ayekpa call-NMLZ;CONJ tramp lie-GEN nest
'khur-e mi toik iøp-pa bet.
carry-NMLZ;GEN man INDF EXIST-NMLZ;Q AUX
u-ko tappu tappu tohi-ni dza-la 'søŋøn di
that-head poor poor do;vbzr-NFNT2 lowland-DAT begging DEF
\(\begin{array}{lll}\text { lin=tu } & \text { 'phim-pa } & \text { bet. } \\ \text { go.get=PURP } & \text { go.come[PST]-NMLZ;Q } & \text { AUX }\end{array}\)
lak di-la phekka repek toujetmu trik
hand DEF-DAT bag cloth.bag small INDF
'khur-na iøp-pa bet. (TE57)
carry-NFNT1 EXIST-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Long time ago there was a tramp called Ayekpa who carried a nest of lies (big liar) with him. Since he was very poor he went to lowlands to do begging. He had a small cloth bag in his hand.' Lit....having carried he had a small bag in his hand.'

In this example the existential iøp-pa bet gives background information about the main character of the story which is told in past tense. English 'was or had' is the appropriate gloss at this time.

Past perfect marking parenthetical information on other finite verbs
\begin{tabular}{llll}
14.75 & 'lama di & 'ni ran & bet \\
& si-kuk. \\
& lama DEF & DM 2SG & COP \\
say-PROG;VIS
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{lllll} 
'jonmaa & di-ki & 'lama di hi-ko bet sin-na \\
another & DEF-ERG & lama DEF this-head COP say-NFNT1
\end{tabular}
'cep-pa hin-køp-pa bet.
tell-NMLZ;Q AUX-PROG;EXP-NMLZ;Q AUX
'set-ni pulis mi=ran thuk-ki doli-la 'luk-na
tell-NFNT2 police man=FOC six-ERG carrying.chair-DAT put-NFNT1
'khur-a bet lo. (TE18)
carry-NMLZ;Q AUX DISCL
'"You are the lama", they said. Someone had told earlier the police saying:"This is the lama." Then six policemen put him into a carrying chair and took him away'.

This is from an oral narrative. The event marked for parenthetical information took place prior to the time line of the story which is told in past tense. Therefore English past perfect is the appropriate translation. The events are not in temporal order and the speaker has to add this piece of background to explain how the police was able to recognize the lama.
\(\begin{array}{rlll}14.76 & \text { ni ta-paa } & \text { di loo-tu } & \text { 'lit-ni } \\ \text { horse-HUM2 } & \text { DEF beside-LOC } & \text { come-NFNT2 that-DAT } & \text { ajekp-e } \\ & \text { ayena-ERG }\end{array}\) y-e dzama ran 'khø. 1SG-GEN clay.pot 2SG use[IMP]
hiko ta-tan mit-dzak-keŋ-ki dzama bet tshi-pa bet. this horse-COM NEG-vbzr-NMLZ;CONJ-GEN clay.pot COP say-NMLZ;Q AUX hi-ki tam hiko ma di ajekp-e u-ki ta di this-GEN speech this CONTR1 DEF ayekpa-ERG that-GEN horse DEF 'elama dzap-na 'thok-t6e 'nø-pa tohi-pa lie vbzr-NFNT1 take-SBJV think-NMLZ;Q do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q
hin-køp-pa
hin-køp-pa
                                bet. (TE68)
                                bet. (TE68)
    AUX-PROG;EXP-NMLZ;Q AUX
    AUX-PROG;EXP-NMLZ;Q AUX
'After the horse rider had arrived beside Ayekpa he said:"Try using this clay pot of mine! This is a pot which I would not exchange for a horse." In fact Ayekpa had decided to cheat and get that horse.'

The story continues and the horseman exchanges his good horse for the clay pot. Speaker inserts this background information about Ayekpa's inner decision he already had prior to the time line.

\subsection*{14.3 Aspect}

I have included only four aspects in the current section. In section on aspectual verbs 15.4 there are more.

\subsection*{14.3.1 Habitual aspect}

In Lhomi habitual aspect expresses habitual activity or ongoing state of affairs. It combines with most verb types. The string of suffixes -køp-pa is attached to the nonpast root of the main verb and the auxiliry bet is added. There is no single grammatical marker to mark this aspect. (Compare this with the PPRF in section 14.2.3.) The suffix -køt PROG;EXP looses its evidential value but retains some of its progressive meaning. If negated, the negative prefix is attached to the main verb.

Though the habitual aspect markers are in the finite verb, all other preceding nonfinite verbs are also habitual. As for the tense of habitual aspect it is tricky as Givon states:"An event (or state) either occurs always or repeatedly, or whose event-time is left unspecified." (Givón, Talmy. 2001. Syntax, An introduction, Vol. I. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins:286). Typically it is the context which governs the tense.

Habitual aspect in Lhomi may be negated and it also combines with probability marker -to. The whole structure of the finite verbal phrase looks like this:
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
(mit- ) & V-køp-pa & bet \\
(NEG-) & V[NPST]-PROG;EXP-NMLZ;Q AUX
\end{tabular}

Consider the following examples (habitual aspect markers are underlined): BT4 verb,
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
14.77 & u-tu & ma & di & polis-ki & too
\end{tabular} di-la
'mit-ton-køp-pa bet. (TE31)
NEG-send;vbzr-PROG;EXP-NMLZ;Q AUX
'As a matter of fact it was the custom of police there not to let the cars go by.' Or:Lit. 'In fact the police habitually did not send the cars going.'

This was a police station where they used to inspect the passengers and their loads. They had been doing it habitually and would be doing it habitually. The narrative which is told in past tense, tells about a man who had stolen a golden idol and who was in the bus when it was stopped. Speaker tells this as background information which the victim apparently did not know. He was caught.

T1 verb,

sa-køp-pa
bet. (TE34)
eat[NPST]-PROG;EXP-NMLZ;Q AUX
'They used to go to a village called Piipu and regularly exploit them and eat.'
This is from an oral story that tells about some evil characters who used to harass and exploit the villagers in Lhomi area. They did no work but used to impose themselves upon the villagers for feeding and feasting. This had been their custom for a while until the tragic end came. The story is told in past tense. Speaker uses habitual aspect to provide background.

BT1 verb,
14.79 'lama 'lopel-la '6øt-tse mip-pa bet.
lama shaman-DAT speak-SBJV NEG.EXIST-NMLZ;Q AUX
'ьøt-t6e jøt-na 'ni u-p-e mi 'ьi-na
speak-SBJV EXIST-NFNT1 DM that-PL2-ERG man die-NFNT1
'khur-a-la tam '6øk-køp-pa bek=ka 'ni. (TE56)
carry-NMLZ;Q-DAT speech speak-PROG;EXP-NMLZ;Q AUX=Q DM
'Lamas and shamans have no knowledge/information. If they had, would they habitually speak to a dead man?'

This is a rhetorical question anticipating a neg. answer. Speaker argues that lamas and shamans do not really have true knowledge. Speaking to a dead man refers to post mortem rites.

BR7 verb,
14.80 u-ko 'thuk-la mi 's-y 'yt tok dzak that-head until-DAT man who-ERG INCLN walking.stick vbzr[NPST] 'mit-sii-køp-pa bet. (TE57)

\section*{NEG-know-PROG;EXP-NMLZ;Q AUX}
'Up to that time no one knew how to put his walking stick habitually under the load.'
The story tells about a man who was the first one to use the walking stick under his load while standing himself. The main verb is abilitive 'know how' and the non-finite clause is embedded as a NP complement to the main clause. It is the complement tok dzak which is in habitual aspect though the marking is in the main verb 'sii. This is a kind of backward spreading of the HAB aspect.

\subsection*{14.3.2 Progressive aspect}

Progressive aspect in Lhomi expresses a process which is not bounded. This aspect is marked by suffixes -køt and -kuk which are affixed to the nonpast root of the verb. These two suffixes have multiple grammatical meanings which I have explained more thoroughly in chapter 13 on evidentials.

The primary grammatical meaning of the first one (-køt) is progressive aspect. And the secondary grammatical meaning is speaker/hearer's direct experience or participation in the process, an evidentiality strategy in Lhomi, see 13.1.2. The primary meaning of the latter (-kuk) is speaker/hearer's direct sensory observation of the process, see 13.2.2. And the secondary meaning for this is progressive. Typically both of these grammatical markers attach to finite verb but occasionally they may also occur in non-finite verb, see \(17.13,14\). Because they both also do mark progressive aspect I have included them in this section as well as in chapter 13.

A verb marked for progressive aspect cannot be negated. If it is negated it becomes negated inchoative aspect. This is understandable because a process is either going on or it has not started yet. Example 14.87 illustrates this. Consider the following examples (markers of the progressive aspect are underlined):

\section*{Progressive aspect marked by -køt PROG;EXP}

T1 verb
14.81 'am-e raari tak-køt.
mother-ERG blanket weave-PROG;EXP
'(My) mother is in process of weaving a woolen blanket.'
There is more about this in section 13 on evidentials.

T1 verb,
14.82 hi-tu 'tshiipa tseja-la 'thøn-tsuy.
this-LOC date fifteen-DAT come.out-PST.EXP
jik-ki 'lutcan tshik-køt. (TE7)
1PL.EXCL-ERG lutgang.ritual do;vbzr-PROG;EXP
'It came on the fifteenth day of the month. We were in process of performing the lutcang ritual.'

This is from the story which tells about the sudden flooding of Arun river long time ago. Speaker was a young man when it happened.

BT4 verb
\begin{tabular}{llll}
14.83 & nuwa-so-la dawa & tsik-ki & 'tshutti tshi-ni \\
nuwa-PL1-DAT month & one-GEN & vacation do;vbzr-NFNT2 \\
luppa-la & 'lok-na & do-køt. (TE71) \\
area-DAT take.back-NFNT1 & go-PROG;EXP
\end{tabular}
'Because Nuwa and his school mates have holidays for one month I am in process of taking him and going to the village'.

This is from a letter which was sent from Kathmandu to me in Finland. Speaker tells that he has come to Kathmandu to take his son back to the village for the holiday period. The plan will take place in 1-2 days from the writing of this letter.

\section*{Progressive aspect marked by -kuk PROG;VIS}

T1 verb,
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
14.84 & u-na phøt gatcen tsik phøp-pa gatsen tsik dzom-na \\
that-IN Tibetan many INDF Tibetan-HUM1 many INDF gather-NFNT1
\end{tabular}
u-na phøt sapra 'phak-kuk. (TE29)
that-IN Tibetan group.dance dance-PROG;VIS
'Many Tibetans got together and they were singing and dancing.'
Speaker is telling about his dream. This is a typical serial chain, dzom-na being the con-verb.

R2 verb,
14.85 ni roo 'khaa dzak-kuk sin-na mal-la mit-phap-a 3SG snow vbzr-PROG;VIS say-NFNT1 down-DAT NEG-descend-NMLZ;Q
u-tu=ran naa døk-ken bet. (TE32)
that-LOC=FOC lay.down stay-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
"He only says: "It snows" and does not come down but lays down and stays up there.'

This is from a story describing the life of a yak. "He" refers to yak. Everybody else tries to come down but yak has no need.

BR7 verb
14.86 hunto raj-ki 'noksam hi-ntuk tshi-pa 'nø-kuk. ... (TE48) now 2SG-ERG reasoning this-ADVZR do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q think-PROG;VIS
'Now you are reasoning in this way:...
Speaker of this clause is a lama who reveals the inner thoughts of his client. He uses a direct sensory observation to impress the man. This is an unvolitional verb. To make it volitional one has to nominalize the current verb and add another verb tohit to be the new main verb. There are examples of that in section 17.3.10.

BR7 verb, negated
14.87 ni kha-la ak u-ki 'atci di-ki 'tehopu di-la kurik-ki
theme where-DAT INCLN that-GEN e.sister DEF-GEN husband DEF-DAT all-ERG ŋuu 'mit-6ii-pet sinni ... (TE45)
face NEG-know-INCH
'Everywhere people said to the husband of the elder sister: "We do not personally know you yet..."

Note that this is negated inchoative aspect, not progressive.

\subsection*{14.3.3 Inchoative aspect}

Inchoative (or inceptive) aspect refers to the beginning of event or action or state, (see Crystal, David.1980. A First Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics. Cambridge: Andre Deutsch:181). This aspect in Lhomi indicates that the event is at the point of happening but has not yet started to happen. Typically the English gloss is 'be about to' or 'be on the point of'. Inchoative is marked by suffix -pet which is affixed to nonpast root of the finite verb. I have glossed this marker INCH.Tense of the clause is nonpast. Inchoative aspect may be used with most verbs except existentials and copular verbs.

With the verbs that are inherently stative there is an additional semantic component, e.g. 'to understand little bit, to see little bit.' When the verb with this marker is negated it sometimes communicates the idea of 'not yet', e.g. examples 14.90,92. Consider the following examples (the marker is underlined):

R2 verb
14.88 'tбheppa dzak-pet.
rain vbzr-INCH
'It is about to rain'.
There are signs of imminent rain but the event of raining has not started yet.
BR2 verb
\begin{tabular}{llll}
14.89 & tuwa & 'nøttsa-la & '6on-et. \\
& porridge & pot-DAT & fit.into-INCH
\end{tabular}
'The porridge will just about fit into the pot'.
There is a certain amount of inherent uncertainty with this aspect.
R2 verb,
14.90 u-ko '6yli mit-thak-pet. (TE48)
that-head at.all NEG-become.cleansed-INCH
'It does not yet become cleansed at all.'
Speaker is telling about different ways people try to get their sins cleansed in Buddhism.
\begin{tabular}{llllll} 
& R1 verb, & & & \\
14.91 & na 'ni & too-p-e & 'вi-jet. & tohi-pa & bet. (TE25) \\
& 1SG DM feel.hungry-NMLZ;Q-INS & die-INCH do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q & AUX \\
& 'He said: "As for me, I am about to die because I am so hungry".'
\end{tabular}

BR7 verb
```

14.92 hunto hatca-ra\eta-ki dikpa \etauu di=ra\eta
now 1PL.INCL-self-ERG sin face DEF=FOC
'mit-sii-pet. (TE48)
NEG-know-INCH
'Now we do not yet truly recognize our sins.'
Inchoative means here that the people do not yet know what is sin and what is not.

```

\subsection*{14.3.4 Resultative perfect}

Perfect aspect in Lhomi is marked with -tuk which attaches to the past root of the finite verb or its auxliliary. The primary grammatical meaning is perfect and therefore I have included it in this section of aspects. There is more about the secondary meaning of this marker in section 13.1.3 under evidentiality strategies.

A speaker only sees the results but not the actual event or activity. This very fact qualifies this marker to be used in event line verbs in some historical narratives which are not regarded as necessarily true stories. In those texts the story line is marked with this marker and it grammatically signals just past tense, e.g. 'went, sold' etc. Epistemic certainty is lower than if the story line would be marked with the general knowledge past ( pa bet) as is normally done in historical narratives.

Typically the speaker makes sensory observation of the resultant state of the activity, action or motion and this gives some uncertainty as to the epistemic value of the statement. English perfect or pluperfect is usually the right way to gloss the verbs with this marker, 'has gone, had arrived, arrived' etc.

I refer the reader to the section 13.1 .3 which has a lot of examples of the primary and secondary meaning of this marker.

\subsection*{14.4 Interrogative clause}

Givon lists one of the conventions that governs the interrogative speech-acts: "The speaker's communicative intent is to request and receive information from the hearer". (Givón, Talmy. 2001. Syntax, An introduction, Vol. I. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins:291). There are several kinds of interrogative constructions in Lhomi, alternative questions, content questions, tag questions etc. So called rhetorical questions are dealt with in chapter 18.4.

Table 14.4 Morphophonemic variation of Lhomi question enclitic (base form is -pa)
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline Phonemes preceding the question clitic & Variants of question clitic \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l} 
Following \\
\(\mathrm{m}, \mathrm{n}, ~ ø \mathrm{t}, \mathrm{rt}, \mathrm{it}\), or any root final vowel
\end{tabular} & \(=\mathbf{= a ( k )}\) \\
\hline Following k, et & \(=\mathbf{k a ( k )}\) \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline Following \(\mathrm{\eta}, \mathrm{p}\) & \(=\mathbf{a}(\mathbf{k})\) \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Note that in the table above the left hand column does not refer only to root-final phonemes but to whatever phoneme the question marker is attached to, e.g. des-son-a. The following phonological assimilations take place:
-Final /øt/ , /yt/ and /it/ become /øp/, /yp/ and /ip/.
-Final \(/ \mathrm{n} /\) assimilates to homorganic nasal \(/ \mathrm{m} /\).
-Final /et/ becomes /ek/. It is the vowel to which the question marker is attached that governs these changes.

The final velar stop ( \(k\) ) which is in brackets, occurs in emphatic questions. The question clitic is heavily stressed in such a case.

The table does not include the nonpast conjunct question -ken which is explained in chapter 12.6.1 on conj/disj markings. Question clitic in Lhomi attaches to the final suffix of a finite verb or to an auxiliary of the finite verb.

\subsection*{14.4.1 Simple question}

By simple question I mean the basic structure of an interrogative clause/sentence in Lhomi. There are no other grammatical hints for the hearer except the question clitic which signals that the speaker's illocutionary act is a question. Unlike some other verbal suffixes which occur as finite suffixes, the question marker does not neutralize the preceding suffix, e.g. progressive or evidential marker. Consider the following examples (question markers are underlined):
```

14.93 'aku-ray-la 'khim trik jøp=pa?
uncle-self-DAT house INDF EXIST.EXP=Q
'Do you uncle have a house?' Or: 'Uncle, do you own a house?'

```
14.94 jampu-la do-ken?

Kathmandu-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
'Do you go to Kathmandu?'
This is a common question to anybody who seems to be heading for Kathmandu. There is phonological stress in the final syllable to distinguish it from the respective declarative form. Often the final \(/ \mathbf{n} /\) is not audible. Agent/subject is left implicit because it is marked in the verb.
14.95 u-ki donpu gartsa u-ko ran-ki
that-GEN tree big that-head 2 2SG-ERG
'Do you see that big tree?'
14.96 ha 'arak ha døntøt=raŋ 'khur-tcuy. now liqour now much=FOC carry-PST.EXP
nukm-e 'arak mana 'thun 'thuu-køp-pa bek=ka? (TE4)
this.way-GEN liquor a.lot drink be.able-PROG;EXP-NML;Q AUX=Q
'(Women) brought here really a lot of liquor. Can these men habitually drink that much liquor?'

\subsection*{14.4.2 Alternative questions (affirmative-affirmative)}

Speaker requests information by giving several alternatives and the hearer is supposed to pick one when he replies. It is the conjunction 'or' (na) which separates the questions from each other. Between the alternative questions there are often two conjunctions. I believe that the boundary between the questions is in between those two conjuctions. In written texts the norm is to have just one conjunction. Consider the following examples (question markers and conjunctions are underlined):
14.97 'Iha-kan-ki ku-la ket dzoak-køp=pa na na 'el-laa god-house-GEN idol-DAT voice vbzr-PROG;EXP=Q or or before-ADVZR hatsa-ra引-ki 'tohøppa puu-ken 'Iha siptak 'lukan-la na 1PL.INCL-self-GEN offering offer-NMLZ;CONJ god siptak 'lukang-DAT or na na hatca-raj-ki 'khim-ki naj-la tim-p-e
or or 1PL.INCL-self-ERG house-GEN inside-DAT consecrate-NMLZ;Q-GEN
'Iha di-la ket dzak-køp=pa? (TE48)
god DEF-DAT voice vbzr-PROG;EXP=Q
'Do you invoke the god of the village temple or Shiptak Lukang, the god which we earlier used to worship or the god which we have consecrated inside our homes?'

This is a series of rhetorical questions and the speaker does not actually request information from the audience but developes his own argumentation. Each hearer may pick quietly his choice of these three options. The conjunction na may be reduplicated which reinforces the alternation.

'khamtcu di=ran dzak-ken? (TE55)
court.case DEF=FOC vbzr-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
'Some men go to Gombu and say: "Do you now agree and become reconciled or do you take him to court?"'

The speaker gives two options to the man who is a party in a legal battle of a land dispute.
\begin{tabular}{llll}
14.99 & 'khim-la & lok-p-e & jan-la kanpa do-ken \\
& home-DAT return-NMLZ;Q-GEN time-DAT foot & go-NMLZ;CONJ.Q & na \\
& perel-la & do-ken? \\
& plane-DAT & go-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{14.4.3 Alternative questions (affirmative---negated)}

This type of alternative question in Lhomi consists of two clauses. The questioner puts forward a question and the same question in negated form. The conjunction na 'or' conjoins these two clauses. Actually the latter question may be optionally omitted in which case the conjunction na signals the alternative which is left out. Consider the following examples (question markers and conjunctions are underlined):
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
14.100 & 'khok-ki toha \(\quad\) 'sep=pa & na & 'mat-sep=pa? \\
& 2SG-ERG chicken kill-NMLZ;Q or & NEG-kill-NMLZ;Q \\
& 'Did you kill a chicken or did you not kill?'
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{llr}
14.102 & 'khøt jampu-la & do-ken \\
& 2SG Kathmandu-DAT & go-NMLZ;CONJ.Q \\
mit-do-ken? & or \\
& NEG-NMLZ;CONJ.Q & \\
& 'Do you go to Kathmandu or do you not go?
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
14.103 & 'khøt gara & him=pa & na & mem=pa? \\
2SG blacksmith COP.EXP=Q & or & NEG.COP.EXP=Q \\
& Are you a blacksmith or are you not? &
\end{tabular}

The following example illustrates alternative question on which the negated part is left out and the particle na signals that it is actually an alternative question (question markers and the particle are underlined):
14.104 'aku pekma-la dza tsik 'aku 'sonol-la dza tøik 'aku dzen uncle pekma-DAT hundred one uncle 'sonon-DAT hundred one uncle dzen 'thompu-la dzapa 'pii ha na 'kujøn nup
'thompu-la hundred two now or payment little.bit
thaa-køp=pa na? (TE4)
become-PROG;EXP=Q or
‘One hundred to uncle Pekma, one hundred to uncle Sonon, two hundred to uncle Jyen Thompu, is it too little for you or?'

Speaker is paying the compensation to all lamas who have participated in the rituals for his house dedication. He is addressing the lamas with this elliptic alternative question. The answer comes in the next sentence.

\subsection*{14.4.4 Content questions}

The content questions make use of the question words like khanta 'what', khantala 'why', kha-la 'where to', kha-ni ' where from', kha-tu 'where in', 'su 'who', 's-צ 'whose', 'su-la to whom', nam 'when'. These question words are an additional constituent of a
clause. The question clitic is the same as in alternative questions. There are more question words listed in section 2.5.3 on interrogative pronouns. Consider the following examples (the question words and markers are underlined):

\subsection*{14.105 kha-la}
where-DAT
do-ken?
go-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
'Where do you go?'
It is the conjunct marker that marks this as a second person question though there is no pronoun or address term to make it explicit. This is a common greeting on trail when meeting someone.
\begin{tabular}{cll}
14.106 & \begin{tabular}{l} 
'khøt \\
2SG
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
khanta \\
what
\end{tabular}
\end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} 
tchik-køp=pa(k) \\
do;vbzr-PROG;EXP=Q
\end{tabular}
'What are you doing?'
Progressive in Lhomi means that a person is in process of some activity.
14.107 'kheta hi-ko 's-Y 'khur-tuk=ka
load this-head who-ERG
carry-PRF.VIS=Q
'Who has carried this load?'
Speaker sees the load in the destination but does not know who has carried it. This is what I have called elsewhere perfect of results.
14.108 'khit miman khajet khanta-la pupu 'mit-so-ken? (TE46)

2PL people plural what-DAT pupu NEG-raise.up-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
'You people, why don't you placate Pupu?'
Speaker is rebuking the villagers for not taking part in a ritual that would appease the village god called Pupu. This is actually a rhetorical question, a reprimand.

\section*{Table 14.5 Summary of interrogatives and negated interrogatives \\ for existentials and copular verbs (question clitics are underlined)}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
\hline & Interrogative & Negated interrogative \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l} 
Existentials \\
or auxiliaries
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
jøp=pa \\
jøk-ken bek=ka \\
duk=ka \\
jøp=pa bek-ka
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
mip=pa \\
mip-pa bek=ka \\
min-tuk=ka \\
mip-pa bek=ka
\end{tabular} \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l} 
Copular verbs \\
or auxiliaries
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
him=pa \\
bek=ka \\
him-pa bek=ka \\
hin-køp-pa bek=ka
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
mem=pa \\
mem-bek=ka \\
mem-pa bek=ka \\
mej-køp-pa bek=ka
\end{tabular} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Table 14.5 only lists the interrogative forms of existentials and copular verbs. They are explained more thoroughly elsewhere in this sketch.

\subsection*{14.4.5 Tag questions}
"A tag question is a yes/no question consisting of a declarative clause plus a "tag" that requests confirmation or disconfirmation of the declarative clause".(Payne, Thomas E. 1997. Describing morphosyntax: A guide for field linguists. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press:264).

A Lhomi speaker may summon for the listener's confirmation by using a clitic =kan SHC (summoning for hearer's confirmation) which is attached to the finite suffix of the finite verb just like a question clitic would be. However the speaker is only requesting confirmation or agreement for his statement or argument or a suggestion or a promise or for his command to a child. The clause has no question clitic and the speaker is not requesting any information, only confirmation or disconfirmation.

The following morphophonemic changes take place when this clitic is attached to the finite verb. The final alveo-dental stop of the copular verb bet is dropped. With the existential jøt the final /t/ is dropped and the front vowel løl changes to back vowel /ol. These verbs may be either auxiliaries or main verbs in a clause.

When the cilitic attaches to PROG;VIS -kuk the final velar stop is dropped. SHC clitic hardly ever occurs in a written text but in oral conversation it is common.

If one of the listeners is in doubt then the speaker may request confirmation from another listener who is in a position to confirm his argument. Therefore typically at least three persons are needed. When the speaker is putting forward arguments to an audience, he may summon from his listeners a confirmation for his argument. In that case the confirmation may be silent. The verbal confirmation is given by using the particle løni which may be glossed 'yes, it is true' or by unmarked copular verb bet, 'it is'. There is more about this kind of response particles in 9.2.10.

Consider the following examples of the copular verb bet + kay (the markers are underlined):

'Few weeks ago I stayed in Kathmandu, didn't I? Yes, you did.'
Hearer responds and confirms speaker's tag question with the particle Iøni. This is fully acceptable and sensible first person question addressed to someone. However there are no 1. person markers on the verb (dep-pen). A third person hearer does not believe the speaker, hence the request for confirmation.
\begin{tabular}{llll}
14.110 & hatsa-ran & 'ba \(\quad\) se-pa & be=kan? \\
1PL.INCL-self meat eat-NMLZ;Q & IøXi \\
'We ate meat, didn't we? & Yes, we did.' &
\end{tabular}

One of the hearers is in doubt if the statement is true or not. Therefore the speaker summons his companion to confirm his statement. The pronoun refers to the speaker and his companion.
14.111 thaypuu ta papa-raŋ-ki ta jit 'sep-pa be=kan? long.ago EMPHP father-self-ERG EMPHP 1PL.EXCL kill-NMLZ;Q AUX=SHC hi-ntuk tohi-na j-e 'søk-ken this-ADVZR do;vbzr-NFNT1 1SG-ERG kill-NMLZ;CONJ
sin-na jit thak-la dap-a be=kan?
say-NFNT1 1PL.EXCL rock-DAT beat-NMLZ;Q AUX=SHC
ha jik-ki hi-ntuk tchi-na papa-ray
now 1PL-ERG this-ADVZR do;vbzr-NFNT1 father-self
クik-ki 'so go-ku=kan? t6hi-pa bet.

1PL.EXCL-ERG raise.up must-PROG;VIS=SHC say-NMLZ;Q AUX
ni bet sin-ni 'ni hi-ni u-tsøt t6ik=ran bet. (TE41)
COP say-NFNT2 DM this-ABL that-amount INDF=FOC COP
‘They said: "Father, long time ago you killed us, didn't you?
You beat us against a rock saying: I kill you, didn't you?
But now we have to take care of you in this way, don't we?"
He replied: "Yes, it is true" and so is the story finished.'
This is from a story in which a father has married a cannibal wife and upon her demand he had tried to kill the children of his earlier marriage for the new wife to eat. Now the kids have grown up and try to save their father from the hands of his cannibal wife. The kids summon for confirmation from their father who is about to die at the hands of his wife.

\subsection*{14.112 hi-ko 'ha khoo-ni ajekpa di-ki}
this-head aud.impact hear;understand-NFNT2 ayekpa DEF-ERG
\begin{tabular}{llll} 
ga-ntija=ran & be=kan & 'ni? & tohi-pa bet. (TE67) \\
feel.good-ADJVZR=FOC & COP=SHC & DM & say-NMLZ;Q AUX
\end{tabular}
'After Ayekpa heard it, he said: "It is true, isn't it?"'
Ayekpa gets support for his claim from a third party who shouts it from a distance. The confirmation from the man nearby comes in the form of an action. An oral reply would have been too embarassing.

If the hearer agrees he uses one of the following particles: lawu, jon, lasso (honorific). In connection with commands the clitic =kaŋ is only used with children. Consider the following examples of existential jøt + -ka引:
```

14.113 \eta-e pajisak bin jon jo=kan
1SG-ERG money give intend EXIST=SHC
'l'll give you some money, is it okey?' Or: 'l'll give you some money, okey?'

```
14.114 \begin{tabular}{lll} 
'tshu \\
water & 'khur-let & io=kan! \\
bring-SCI & EXIST=SHC
\end{tabular}
'Go and bring here some water, will you?'

\section*{15. Modality verbs}

Givon lists the following syntactic characteristics for modality verbs (Givón, Talmy. 2001.Syntax, An introduction, Vol. II. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins:55):
- "The subject of the main verb is also the subject of complement clause.
- The subject of the complement clause is zero-coded.
- The complement-clause verb is commonly non-finite or nominalized.
- The complement is analogous to the object of the main clause (OV or VO)
- The complement clause tends to fall under a unified intonation contour with the main clause."
Typically modality verbs in Lhomi are the main verbs in the construction of a clausal or sentential complement which is a nominalized clause. In this current section I follow the the Givon's definition above.

\subsection*{15.1 Epistemic modality}

In the current section (15) I partly follow the scheme Austin Hale has developed in his paper. (Hale, Austin. 2011,The Modalities of Newar 'mal'. Himalayan Linguistics Vol.10(1), ISSN 1544-7502 Pp.128-149). Some terms used in this section come from Givon (Givón, Talmy. 2001.Syntax, An introduction, Vol. II. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins) and some from F. R. Palmer (Palmer F.R. 2001.Mood and Modality, second edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

\subsection*{15.1.1 Evidentials}

I refer the reader to the section 13. Evidentials. Treating Lhomi evidentials is such a huge and dominant part of the Lhomi grammar that I have put it under separate heading. In section 15.1.2 I talk about some left-overs from chapter 13.

\subsection*{15.1.2 Judgements}

This heading comes from Austin Hale's paper. (Hale, Austin. 2011,The Modalities of Newar 'mal'. Himalayan Linguistics Vol.10(1), ISSN 1544-7502:128).

\subsection*{15.1.2.1 Nominalizer -tokpa with an existential main verb}

This modality combines with most types of verbs, also with existentials and copulas.It has the following syntactic characteristics:
-The complement-clause verb is nominalized with -tokpa. I simply call this morpheme a nominalizer NMLZ.
-The main verb is an existential verb.
-When the main verb is in a non-finite position it is replaced with the verb tehit because existential verbs do not typically occur in non-final or final position of a clause chain.
-The main verb may be negated or used in a question.
-Subject of the complement clause and the subject of the main clause are co-referential.
-The rest of the complement clause is the predicate nominal of the main clause unless the existential is replaced by tohit in which case it is the object of the agentive complementclause.
-The meaning of this modality construction is almost identical with "Speaker/hearer's inference from circumstancial evidence" which is treated in chapter 13.2.4. I have treated the current inference structure here because it syntactically fits better under the current heading.
-This modality is based on speaker's visual or sensory observation of the circumstances except when speaker is speaking about himself, see the example 15.3 below. In the first person reference it still is inference from circumstances based on patient's inner feelings. The following examples illustrate this modality:

\section*{15.1 u-pa dik-tokpa min-tuk that-PL2 reconcile-NMLZ NEG-EXIST.VIS}
sin-na 'ar-mi di-p-e sik-ken bet. (TE55)
say-NFNT1 between-man DEF-HUM1-ERG say-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'The arbitrators say: "They do not seem to become reconciled." '
This is from a story which tells about old village customs. Arbitrators have not been able to reconcile two men.

\section*{15.2 phumu u-ko 'nama-la do-tokpa duk=ka? \\ girl that-head wife-DAT go-NMLZ EXIST.VIS=Q}
'Does that girl seem to be ready for marriage?'
Speaker asks this question from a friend who knows the girl. Speaker may have intentions later to marry her. The wording is very generic.

\section*{15.3 ŋа thak-tokpa jøt?}

1SG be.healed-NMLZ EXIST.EXP
'It seems I am going to become well.'
Patient feels that he is getting better and states this to someone else.

\section*{15.4 u-ko '6i-tokpa duk.}
that-head die-NMLZ EXIST.VIS
'It seems he is going to die.'
Speaker has been able to see the patient often and seen that he is getting more and more sick. Then he may state this to someone else. This is speaker's inference from circumstances based on his sensory observation.

\section*{15.5 sen jis-so 'khartsa mip-pa-la}
otherwise 1PL.EXCL-PL1 expenses NEG.EXIST.EXP-NMLZ;Q-DAT
do 'tshuu-tokpa min-tuk. (TE75)
go be.able-NMLZ NEG-EXIST.VIS
'Otherwise it seems we cannot go since we have no money.'

Speaker writes to someone to ask for money and states that unless he gets money he and his companions would not be able to go.
15.6 ni u-ki doy-tu ajekpa 'tshap-tokpa tohi-na
theme that-GEN in.front.of-LOC ayekpa be.in.hurry-NMLZ do;vbzr-NFNT1
'nam-la mirek bar-son sin-na
sky-DAT large.fire get.burning-PST.VIS say-NFNT1
kha-na 'a引tam '6øt-lon jøp=pa tshi-pa bet. (TE69)
where-IN big.lie tell-PUNC EXIST.EXP=Q say-NMLZ;Q AUX
'In his presence Ayekpa appeared to be in a hurry and said:...
Ayekpa is a well known bad character among Lhomis. This is from one of the many stories about him. This example shows that also the verb tohit may be used instead of an existential verb when the verb is in non-finite position.
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \multirow[t]{4}{*}{15.7} & tam-ki & dokpu & tcik=ran jøt-tokpa & trhi-na \\
\hline & speech-GEN & meaning & one=FOC EXIST-NMLZ & do;vbzr-NFNT1 \\
\hline & døk-ken & bet. & (TE49) & \\
\hline & stay-NMLZ;CO & NJ AUX & & \\
\hline & \multicolumn{4}{|l|}{'(He) seems to say only little bit and stays quiet.'} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

This refers to a healer lama who has failed in his efforts to heal the patient. He still tries one more trick but is very cautious and quiet. The verb tohit replaces the existential verb in this clause chain.

\subsection*{15.1.2.2 Nominalizers -pa and -ken with the main verb 'it looks like'}
'It looks like' modal verb combines with all kinds of verbs including existentials and copulas. The syntactic characteristics of this modality are as follows:
-The complement clause is nominalized with either one of the two common nominalizers -pal-jal-a NMLZ;Q or -ken NMLZ;CONJ
-The verb of the main clause is da- 'to look alike, to look like, be alike. When this verb is used as a modality verb it accepts only inchoative suffix -pet/-jet/-et, INCH. This is understandable because the information is inferred from the circumstances and the speaker is not claiming any epistemic certainty at all for his statement.
-The inference is based on only visual observation. This follows from the fact that the main verb means 'to look like, to be like'.
-The subject of the complement clause is co-referential with the subject of the main clause and the rest of the complement clause is the patient/object of the main clause which is BR4 type.
-The complement clause may be negated but the main clause may not.
There are some real complexities which show up in the examples below. Typically when the complement-clause is a nominalized relative clause the verb hin is the copular and not an auxiliary and it has lost its evidential value (COP.EXP) also. The following examples illustrate this modality (the main verb is underlined):

\section*{15.8 u-ko 'mat-li-pa da-jet.}
that-head NEG-arrive[PST]-NMLZ;Q look.like-INCH 'It looks like he has not arrived.' Or: 'It looks like he did not arrive.'
Speaker knows that the person has been away and it looks like he has not arrived, lights are not burning. This is a response to someone's enquiry.

\section*{15.9 u-ko tuwa sa-ken him-pa da-jet.}
that-head food eat-NMLZ;CONJ COP-NMLZ;Q look.like-INCH 'He looks like one who eats.'
Speaker refers primarily to the man who eats rather than to the eating activity. There is more about this kind of relative clauses in chapter 16.1.
15.10 u-ko tuwa sa-ken da-jet
that-head food eat-NMLZ;CONJ look.like-INCH
'He looks like eating.'
Speaker refers primarily to eating in contrast to some other activity.

\subsection*{15.11 u-ko tuwa sa-ken hij-køp-pa da-jet.}
that-head food eat-NMLZ;CONJ COP-PROG;EXP-NMLZ;Q look.like-INCH
'It looks like he is in process of eating.'
Speaker infers this statement from visual circumstances and the primary reference is to eating activity which is going on. Note that the complement-clause verb hin is copula and not an auxiliary. The suffix -køt has lost its evidential value but retained the progressive meaning.

\subsection*{15.12 да na-ken him-pa da-jet. \\ 1SG become.sick-NMLZ;Q COP-NMLZ;CONJ look.like-INCH \\ 'It looks like I am one who is sick.'}

Speaker's primary reference is to himself as the one who may be sick. The embedded clause is a relative clause without head.

\subsection*{15.13 u-ko na-køp-pa}

\section*{da-jet.}
that-head become.sick-PROG;EXP-NMLZ;Q look.like-INCH
'It looks like he is sick.
This is about the present state of affairs. Note that in this one the evidentiality strategy marking (EXP) is reduced and the primary grammatical meaning progressive (PROG) remains.

\subsection*{15.14 u-ko na-køp-pa hij-køp-pa da-jet.}
that-head become.sick-PROG;EXP-NMLZ;Q AUX-PROG;EXP-NMLZ;Q look.like-INCH 'It looks like he has been sick.'
This refers to the state of being sick which is both current and past. It is the habitual aspect marked in the auxiliary that signals that the patient has been sick in the past also.
15.15 u-ko na-ja
that-head become.sick-NMLZ;Q 'It looks like he has been sick.'
Speaker infers that the person has been sick but is no longer. Note that the complement clause is in past tense. Past sickness is viewed as an event.
15.16 u-ko na-ja hin-køp-pa da-jet.
that-head become.sick-NMLZ;Q AUX-PROG;EXP-NMLZ;Q look.like-INCH 'It looks like he had become sick, (but is no more).'
This refers primarily to the sickness which has taken place in the past and is viewed as past event which has ended now.

\subsection*{15.17 u-ko na-ken hiy-køp-pa da-jet.}
that-head become.sick-NMLZ;CONJ COP-PROG;EXP-NMLZ;Q look.like-INCH 'It looks like he is currently sick.' Or:'It looks like he is the one being sick.'
The complement clause is again a headless relative clause. Speaker draws his conclusion after seeing the patient. It is still an inference.

\section*{Existential verbs in a complement-clause}
15.18 roo-raŋ-ki 'khim tajpu jøp-pa da-jet.

3SG-self-GEN house poor EXIST-NMLZ;Q look.like-INCH
'His own house looks like being poor.'
Speaker rectifies someone who thinks that the man is wealthy. But he does not have definite knowledge either, only inference from circumstances.

\subsection*{15.19 roo-ray-la sajikal mip-pa da-jet. \\ 3SG-self-DAT bike NEG.EXIST-NMLZ;Q look.like-INCH \\ 'It looks like he himself does not have a bike.'}

Speaker rectifies someone who thinks that the fellow owns the bike which he is using.
15.20 u-ko iki dok '6ii-ken him-pa da-jet.
that-head writing read know-NMLZ;CONJ COP-NMLZ;Q look.like-INCH
'It looks like he is one who can read.'
The nominalized complement clause is a headless relative clause.

\subsection*{15.1.2.3 Probability}

The probability modality has to do with the level of certainty. Speaker has no definite evidence for the epistemic value of his statement and what he says may or may not materialize. I follow David Watters in using this term (Watters David E. 2002. A Grammar of Kham. Cambridge University Press:285). English meaning for Lhomi
probability is 'may be', 'perhaps', 'possibly' or 'probably'. I have chosen to deal with this in the current section on judgements rather than under evidentials. The following syntactic features characterize this modality:
-It is marked by the probability marker -to which is attached to the nonpast progressive marker PROG -køt of the main verb or to the COP hin or to the EXIST jøt.
-Probability marker neutralizes the grammatical meaning of the preceding suffix or any evidential markers of the verb to which it is attached, e.g. hin-to, loy-køt-to.
-The copula hin may also occur as an auxiliary and then it is the auxiliary that gets the marker -to like in 15.27-28.
-The verb marked for probability may be negated in a normal way.
-This modality cannot be used in questions which is obvious.
-The tense of the probability is either nonpast or past.
-This modality combines with almost any type of verb. There are also couple of examples about probability in section 9.2.10 on confirmation particle.

Consider the following examples (the potentiality marker is underlined):
15.21 daku
lon-køt-to.
friend
get.up-PROG;EXP-PROB
'Perhaps the friend will get up.'
Speaker is expecting the friend to get up but is hesitant to go and wake him up.

\subsection*{15.22 gotta-la phitsa kii-køt-to.}

3SG-DAT child be.born-PROG;EXP-PROB
'Perhaps she will get a baby. Or: Maybe she will get a baby.
Speaker has either none or just little bit information about the possibility that the other person is expecting a baby. The PROG does not mark here any evidentiality strategy but only nonpast progressive.

\subsection*{15.23 'tshu 'mat-kø-na thoppa na-køt-to.}
water NEG-boil-NFNT1 stomach become.sick-PROG;EXP-PROB
'Unless you boil the water your stomach may become sick.'
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
15.24 & hi-ki & \(\mathbf{m i} \quad\) hi-ko & gara & hin-to. \\
& this-GEN man this-head & blacksmith & COP.EXP-PROB
\end{tabular}
'Perhaps this man is a blacksmith.'
This is a typical copular clause with a NP subject and gara as predicate nominal.
\begin{tabular}{ll}
15.25 & hi-ki mi hi-ko gara men-to. \\
this-GEN man this-head blacksmith NEG.COP.EXP-PROB \\
& 'Probably this man is not a blacksmith.'
\end{tabular}

The copular verb looses its evidential value (EXP) in this example. This statement ranks lower in epistemic scale than e.g. men-køppet which entails that the speaker infers his information from the circumstances, see more on evidentials in section 13.2.4.
\begin{tabular}{llll}
15.26 & ni & tin-laa & hassøt \\
& themen & after-ADVZR & VIP
\end{tabular}
'ha khoo-køt-to.
aud.impact hear;understand-PROG;EXP-PROB
'Perhaps they will afterwards fully understand it'.
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
15.27 & \(\mathbf{u - k i}\) & iki & dok & 'sii-køp-pa & hin-to. \\
& that-ERG & writing & read & know-PROG;EXP-NMLZ;Q AUX-PROB
\end{tabular}
'Probably he has known how to read'. Or: 'Perhaps he has been able to read.'
Speaker has not been aware that this person knows how to read. Something triggers him to state this probability.
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
15.28 & \(\mathbf{u - k i}\) & iki & dok & 'sii-pa & hin-to. \\
& that-ERG & writing & read & know-NMLZ;Q & AUX-PROB
\end{tabular}
'Perhaps he has learned to read'.
This refers to an event of learning which may have taken place in the past. There is more about the semantic shift of this kind in a verb in chapter 13.1.1 on evidentiality.
15.29 hi-ni 'men di-la pajisak gak si-køt-to wa. (TE42)
this-ABL medicine DEF-DAT money much say-PROG;EXP-PROB MIR 'Perhaps he will say that the medicine costs a lot.'
Speaker is seeking for medicine but figures in his mind that it may cost too much.
Table 15.1 Summary of the syntactic options of the probability marker -to within a VP
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|l|l|}
\hline & \begin{tabular}{l} 
A verb without \\
auxiliary
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
A verb root + an \\
auxiliary
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
An existential \\
main verb
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
A copular \\
main verb
\end{tabular} \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l} 
Nonpast \\
affirmative
\end{tabular} & V-køt-to & & & \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l} 
Nonpast \\
negated
\end{tabular} & mit-V-køt-to & & & \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l} 
Past \\
affirmative
\end{tabular} & & \begin{tabular}{l} 
V-pa hin-to \\
V-køp-pa hin-to \\
V.root jøt-to
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
mat-V-pa hin-to \\
mit-V-køp-pa hin-to
\end{tabular} & \\
\hline Past negated & & & jøt-to & hin-to \\
\hline Affirmative & & & mit-to & men-to \\
\hline Negated & & & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{15.1.2.4 Pretense modality}

This judgement modality has the following characteristics:
-The complement-clause verb is nominalized with the pretense marker -top which is attached to the nonpast root of the verb. This is rarely used modality and I use the generic morpheme gloss for it, NMLZ. Speaker bases his truth claim on his own inference of the event.
-The main verb is tshit 'do;vbzr' with the finite clause affixation.
-Complement-clause verbs of this modality are typically agentive or BR3 verbs.
-Subjects are co-referential and the rest of the complement-clause is the object of the main clause.
-The main verb has all the inflections of an agentive verb, e.g. tehi-pen, do;vbzr-1PST Consider the following examples:
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
15.30 & 'am-e & phitsa-la lapsa & ton-top & tohi-son. \\
& mother-ERG & child-DAT & reprimand & \\
& 'Mother pretended to rebuke the child.'
\end{tabular}

To please someone else mother pretends to rebuke the child but she does not really do it, only pretends.
15.31 \begin{tabular}{l} 
roo-ran \\
3SG-self \\
thø-top \\
excape-NMLZ \\
He himself pretended to run away.' \\
Actually he did not intend to run away but only pretended.
\end{tabular}
15.32 \begin{tabular}{ll} 
go-maa & di ya-ran 'thar-top \\
first-ADJVZR & DEF 1SG-self become.saved-NMLZ
\end{tabular}\(\frac{\text { tohi-pen. }}{\text { do;vbzr-1PST }}\)
'At first I acted pretending to save only myself.'

\subsection*{15.1.2.5 Permission modality}

The meaning of this modality is:'be allowed, be permitted, be legal, be OK'. When negated this modality construction means: 'not allowed, be illegal, not proper'. This modality has the following syntactic characteristics:
-The ordinary verb jum- 'to come' becomes the verb of the main clause which is BR4 type. -The complement-clause verb is nominalized with the subjunctive marker -tse and it combines only with nonpast general knowledge marker, -ken bet.
-The agent/subject of the complement-clause is governed by the complement-clause verb. -The complement-clause verb may be almost any verb type except existential or copular verb.
-The subject of the complement clause and the subject of the main clause are coreferential and the rest of the complement clause is the patient of the main clause. The following examples illustrate this modality:
15.33 gott-e phitsa-la tuwa 'luk-tge jun-ken bet. 3SG-GEN child-DAT porridge feed-SBJV come-NMLZ;CONJ AUX 'He is allowed to feed the porridge to the child.'
Not the speaker but someone else has given him permission to feed the baby.
\(\begin{array}{llll}15.34 \text { да 'tshoolempu-la } & \begin{array}{l}\text { dzek-t6e } \\ \text { 1SG makalu-DAT }\end{array} & \begin{array}{l}\text { jun-ken } \\ \text { climb-SBJV }\end{array} & \begin{array}{l}\text { bet. } \\ \text { come-NMLZ;CONJ }\end{array} \\ \text { AUX }\end{array}\)
'I am allowed to climb to Makalu'. Or: 'I am permitted to climb to Makalu'.
15.35 ni gempu karm-e jaŋ 'khit ma di jari-ki 'tchøtmi
v.leader karma-ERG CONTR2 2.PL CONTR1 DEF some-ERG rel.lamp
pek-ken jari-ki jan khanta ak t6hit-t6e
show.light some-ERG CONTR2 what INCLN do;vbzr-SBJV
mit-jun-ken bet sik-ken. (TE58)
NEG-come-NMLZ;CONJ AUX say-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
'The village leader Karma said:"Some of you actually burn religious lamps but at the same time others are the ones who say:"Nothing is allowed." "

\subsection*{15.1.2.6 Opportunity modality}

\section*{Both the main verb and the complement-clause verb are in past tense}

This verb 'non indicates a chance or an opportunity. It is preceded by the nominalized clause whose verb is past root and the main clause verb is in past tense with finite verb markings.
-The tense of the main clause (BR1 type) is past and so is the complement-clause verb. -This matrix verb may also be negated or used in interrogative.
-Subjects of the main clause and complement clause are co-referential.
-The main clause combines with most verbs except existentials and copulas.
-Case markings of the agent/subject or dative/subject of the complement clause are governed by the complement-clause verb.
-The rest of the complement-clause is the patient of the main clause.
Consider the following examples (opportunity verb is underlined):
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
15.36 & gott-e & 'khim & sø & 'non-a & bet. \\
& 3SG-ERG & house & build[PST] & get.opportunity-NMLZ;Q & AUX
\end{tabular}
'He got a chance to build a house.'
Note that the ergative case of the agent/subject is determined by the complementclause verb (so).

15.38 u-ki tam u-ko jik-ki 'ha khoo
that-GEN message that-head 1PL.EXCL-ERG aud.impact hear;understand[PST] 'mat-non.
NEG-get.opportunity[PST]
'We did not have a chance to hear that story.'

The whole construction of this modality typically looks as follows:
\(+\mathrm{V}[\mathrm{PST}]\) (NEG-) 'nong[PST] (-finite suffixation) (AUX)

\subsection*{15.2 Modal attitude verbs}

\subsection*{15.2.1 Abilitive 'be able to'}

Semantically this verb is a modal attitude verb.( see Givón, Talmy. 2001. Syntax, An introduction, Vol. I. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins:151). I call it abilitive. Lhomi has also abilitive 'know how', which is different, see 15.2.3.

There are two abilitive verbs, 'tshuu and 'thuu 'be able to'. There seems to be no lexical difference in using them, though there are dialect and idiolect variations.
-This modal verb combines only with agentive verbs of the complement clause.
-The agent/subject of the main clause is always ergative marked.
-The verb of the complement clause is NPST root.
-The abilitive verb may be negated.
-The main clause is BR7 type.
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 15.39 & pap-e & [ 'mø & 'møt ] & 'tshuu-ken & & \\
\hline & father-ERG & ploughing & plough[NPST] & be.able-NMLZ;CONJ & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
'Father is able to plough (physically).
Ploughing is very hard work and unless a person is in top shape he would not be able to do it. The complement clause 'mø 'møt is the patient argument of the main clause.
15.40 phits-e [tepal-ki 'thok-la 'nuku 6ok] 'tshuu-ken bet.
child-ERG table-GEN top-DAT pen put[NPST] be.able-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'The child is able to put the pen on top of the table.'
Child is able, he is old enough. The section in brackets is the complement clause.
15.41 api-ki [ lon ] 'tshuu-son.
aunt-ERG get.up[NPST] be.able-PST.VIS
'Aunt was able to get up (physically).'
\begin{tabular}{lll}
15.42 & n-e \(\quad\)\begin{tabular}{ll} 
lon ]
\end{tabular} & 'mit-tshuu-pet. \\
& 1SG-ERG get.up[NPST] & NEG-be.able-INCH \\
& I am not yet able to get up.' &
\end{tabular}
15.1.2 Modal verb 'attempt to'

Agent/subject makes an attempt which commonly fails. The verb of the main clause is tohit which has all finite verb endings.
-This modality verb combines with the BR7 type complement clause which has abilitive verb 'tshuu which is nominalized with the object nominalizer NMLZ;Q, -pa.
-The agent/subject of the main clause is always ergative marked.
-The modality verb may be negated and used in imperative.
-The main clause is T1 type and the complement clause without the subject is the object.
The following examples illustrate this modal attitude verb (complement clause is in square brackets):
15.43 phits-e [tepal-ki 'thok-la 'nuku sok 'tshuu-pa ] tshi-son.
child-ERG table-GEN top-DAT pen put.leave be.able-NMLZ;Q do;vbzr-PST.VIS
'The child tried to put the pen on top of the table.'
Though he attempted he was not able to.
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 15.44 & ŋ-e & [ lon & 'tshuu-pa ] & trhi-pen. \\
\hline & 1SG & G get. & be.able-NMLZ;Q & do;vbzr-1PST \\
\hline & 'Itr & get up & ade an attempt to & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 15.45 & api-ki [ lon & 'tshuu-pa ] & tshi-pa \\
\hline & aunt-ERG get.up[NPST] & be.able-NMLZ;Q & do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q \\
\hline & 'Aunt tried to get up (physi & cally).' & \\
\hline & Implies that the person is & oo weak to get up & and stand. \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{15.2.3 Abilitive 'know how'}

The semantic modal attitude of this verb is learned ability. I call it 'know how' abilitive. The verb 'sii- 'to know' is a BR7 type verb which occurs in all kinds of environments. Here I discuss only its use as a 'know how' verb which has a clausal complement. Typically it entails a preceding learning process. The person has learned the ability one way or the other. There is more about that in chapter 13 on evidentials. Note the following comments about this modality:
-The complement-clause verb may be an agentive verb, a BR1, BR2, BR3 type verb or an existential verb.
-The dativelsubject of the main clause is in ergative.
-The verb of the complement clause is NPST root and the clause is a NP.
-The modality verb may be negated but semantic changes follow.
-The main clause is BR7 type.
-When the complement-clause verb is a non-action or non-motion verb, often semantic changes occur.

Complement clauses are in square brackets:
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 15.46 & n-e & [ baalik & 'la ] & '6ii-kuk. \\
\hline & 1SG-ERG & bamboo & weave[NPST] & know-PROG;VIS \\
\hline & 'l know h & to weav & boo mats.' & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

This implies that the speaker has learned it somehow and now he is confident that he knows the skill. He has not known the skill for very long yet.
```

15.47 phits-e [ døt ] '6ii-kuk.
child-ERG sit.down[NPST]
know-PROG;VIS
'The child knows how to sit.'
Speaker has witnessed that the child is able to sit and he asserts this.

```

When the 'know how' abilitive ('sii) combines with the verbs of BR1or BR2 or BR3 or existentials the meaning may shift quite a bit. Consider the following examples (the modal is underlined and so is its English gloss):
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
15.48 & [le-mi-ja-la & sa-ma & 'thop ] & 'sii-ken \\
work-man-HUM1-DAT & eat-F2 & receive & bet. \\
'The workman deserves to get his food.' & & \\
It is a fringe benefit of a workman, he deserves it. & &
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{15.49 [ toto 'khim-na jøt ] 'sii-ken bet.}
brother house-IN EXIST.EXP know-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Possibly (my) brother is at home.'
Note also that the kinship relation of the speaker to the third person is shown in the complement clause verb.

The following pair of statements illustrate how the meaning changes when this 'know how' abilitive is negated:
15.50 tsik-ki roo 'Iha-kaj-la 'son-tuk si-kuk.

INDF-ERG 3SG god-house-DAT go-PRF.VIS say-PROG;VIS
'A person says: "He has gone to the temple".'
'joŋmaa-ki
another-ERG
hunto=ran jøk-kel-la.
do 'mit-sii-ken
bet
go NEG-know-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
now=FOC EXIST-NMLZ;CONJ-DAT say-PROG;VIS
'Another man says: "He cannot possibly have gone since he is still here."'
Someone infers from circumstances that the person has gone to the temple. Another speaker knows better and he rectifies the first speaker. Obviously the 'know how' abilitive verb here does not refer to knowing how to go to temple because everybody knows where the temple is. Note also that the tense of the latter clause is nonpast.
15.2.4 Modal verb 'intend to'

Intention marked by the modal verb ion 'intend to'
Intentive modal attitude modifies the main verb and indicates the intention of the agent/subject or a definite opinion of the speaker about what is going to happen. The
modal follows the verb which it modifies and the modified verb has past root without any affixation.
-The verb of the main clause is jon which can have only emphatic marker or a question clitic. It cannot be negated. It only occurs in this intentive construction. The common verb jun 'to come' may have become grammaticalized and only the frozen form jon is left. If that is true then this modal verb has some lexical meaning, namely 'to come'. This would explain why the movement is directed towards the deictic center. However I have used the lexical meaning 'intend to' in this contruction.
-This modality combines with most clause types.
-The verb of the complement clause is PST root.
-The complement clause is nominalized.
-The tense of the main clause is NPST.
-The agent/subject or the dative/subject of the main clause is either ergative marked or absolutive marked depending on complement-clause verb.
-The main clause and the complement clause are of same type. The subject is shared and the rest of the complement clause is the object of the main verb.
-There is no particular time frame as to when in future the event or state will happen.
-As to the epistemic certainty scale this construction ranks fairly low.
-The intentive modal jon entails the idea that the event, action or motion is somehow directed towards the speaker or the hearer or that the speaker is otherwise involved with the coming event, action or motion, movement towards the deictic center. When this modal attitude verb is used with unvolitional verbs like 'to die' it naturally does not indicate intention but simply unavoidable destiny.

Consider the following examples (the modals and the main verbs are underlined):
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
15.51 & nit & tuwa & sa=tu & 'lit & ion. \\
& 1PL.EXCL & food & eat=PURP & arrive[PST] & intend
\end{tabular}
'We'll come to eat.' Or: 'It is our intention to come to eat.'
Speaker expresses the intention of his family to come to someone's house for a supper.
'The dog is going to eat it! Do not leave it there!'
This is a warning to someone who is going to leave food where the dog would eat it.
\(\begin{array}{lllllll}15.53 & \text { 's-e } & \text { 'khok thy-na ka } & \text { tuwa non-et } & \text { ka. } \\ & \text { soil-GEN } & \text { interior } & \text { dig-NFNT1 CEP } & \text { food get-INCH } & \text { CEP }\end{array}\)
mi-i 'khok thr-ni khant-e tuwa non jon=a?
man-GEN interior dig-NFNT2 what-GEN food get[PST] intend=Q
'If a man digs the soil he will actually get food. But when he digs the interior of another man, what food is he intending to get?'

This is an idiom, a rhetorical question. The question word in the latter sentence actually negates the whole clause, see more in chapter 12.4.
15.54 引-e tam '6et jon. (TE21)

1SG-ERG message speak[PST] intend
'Illl tell the story (to you).' Or: 'I am going to tell (you) the story.'
The princess is in dilemma and she has to tell her life story.

\subsection*{15.55 hatca-ran 'thamtcet 'si ion.}

1PL.INCL-self all die[PST] intend
'We all are going to die.'
Speaker states his opinion because of imminent danger.
15.56 'phin-na te tan \(\dot{\text { ion=te. }}\)
go.come[PST]-NFNT1 look.at[PST] IMMED intend=EMPH
'We'll go there and we are going to have a good look right away!' Or: 'It is our intention to go there and have a good look at it.'

Speaker suggests that he and others go and find out what some men are doing. The emphatic marker modifies the whole sentence.

\section*{Intention marked by the modal verb do-, 'to go'}

This intentive modal modifies the main verb and indicates the intention of the agent/subject or a definite opinion of the speaker about what is going to happen. The modal follows the verb which it modifies and the modified verb has past root without any affixation.
-The verb of the main clause is do- which typically takes nonpast suffixes, -kuk PROG;VIS and -ken bet NMLZ;CONJ AUX.
-This modality verb combines with most clause types.
-The verb of the complement clause is PST root.
-The complement clause is nominalized.
-The tense of the main clause is NPST.
-The agent/subject or the dative/subject of the main clause is either ergative marked or absolutive marked depending on complement-clause verb type.
-The modality verb may be marked for interrogative but cannot be negated.
-The subjects of the main clause and the complement clause are co-referential and the rest of the complement clause is the object of the main verb.
-There is no particular time frame as to when in future the event or motion will happen.
-This intentive modality entails the idea that the action, event or motion is directed away from the speaker or that he is not directly involved with it. In other words the movement is away from deictic center. The most appropriate English gloss is normally 'is going to, intends to'. With some unvolitional verbs the meaning is more like 'have a bias, to be
inclined to'. Consider the following examples (the modals and the main verbs are underlined):
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
15.57 & jay & 'thaara toik than phoppa toik ro & 'hek-ken \\
& CONTR2 & plate & one & and cup & one corpse \\
cremate-NMLZ;CONJ \\
tarapa & di-ki & 'khur & do-ken & bet. (TE49) \\
cremater & DEF-ERG & carry[PST] & go-NMLZ;CONJ & AUX
\end{tabular}
'At the same time the man who cremates the corpse is going to take a plate and a cup with him.'

Speaker describes various religious implications in case of sickness in his village. Getting sick is expensive but dying is even more expensive when everybody takes his payment like in this example.
15.58 hi-ni mi dz̧ik-paa di-p-e mi jari jari nuk=raך this-ABL man strong-COMP2 DEF-HUM1-ERG man some some this.way=FOC
'sa jari nuk=ran 'thoo do-ken bet. (TE33)
field some this.way=FOC take.away[PST] go-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Occasionally those strong men had a tendensy to take forcefully into their possession a field or two.'

This is from a story that describes the activities of some bad characters in the village when there were no policemen around. Intentive modal re-enforces the generally known fact that this sort of things really happened.

'At first the barking deer has a tendency to run faster than the dog.'
Story is a descriptive one telling how Lhomis hunt. When a dog chases a barking deer the latter first runs faster but later it gets tired and the dog catches up.
15.60 pha jari 'jak-la dzoii do-ken bet. (TE32)
cow some yak-DAT become.afraid[PST] go-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Some cows tend to be afraid of yaks.'
This story is about yaks. Speaker writes factual information throughout the text though he has also some experience with yaks. To use intentive modal in this example highlights the statement compared to mere factual statement dzii-ken bet.
```

15.61 刀-e sumpu '6i
1SG-GEN cat die[PST]
'My cat is going to die.'

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Speaker knows that his cat is very sick and expresses his definite opinion that it is going to die. His statement is based on his visual observation (-kuk).

\subsection*{15.2.5 Modal verb 'want to/desire to'}

This expresses referent's desire and want to do something. I call it 'desire to, want to' modal. It is also often called desiderative modal. It has the following syntactic characteristics:
-The modal (matrix) verb is 'nø which is BR7 type verb which typically means 'to think, to have an opinion' . Typically the matrix verb is a nonpast state. If a past eventive finite suffix, e.g.-t6un is attached, it refers to a moment of getting a desire to act, see the example 15.63.
-This modal verb may occur in questions and in non-finite clauses, see in section 17.3. -The complement clause is marked with subjunctive marker -tre which nominalizes it. -Speaker has the inner desire to act but the action may or may not materialize.
-The subjects of the complement clause and the matrix clause are co-referential. Case marking (ERG) of the subject is governed by the complement clause.
-The rest of the complement clause is the patient/object of the main clause.
Consider the following examples (subjunctive markers and the modal verbs are underlined):
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
15.62 & roo-ki & 'khim tsik & so-t6e & 'nø-kuk. \\
& 3SG-ERG house INDF & build-SBJV & think-PROG;VIS \\
& 'He wants to build a house.'
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{llccc}
15.63 & Ø-e & kittap toik & no-tse & 'nø-t \\
& 1SG-ERG book INDF & buy-SBJV & think-PST.EXP \\
& I wanted to buy a book.' Or:'I got a desire to buy a book.' \\
& This refers to a sudden desire to buy a book.
\end{tabular}
15.64 'khit 'it jampu-la do-tse 'nø-kuk=ka?

2PL INCLN Kathmandu-DAT go-SBJV think-PROG;VIS=Q
'Do you also want to go to Kathmandu?'
\begin{tabular}{lll}
15.65 & ran & 'si-t.tee
\end{tabular}\(\quad\)\begin{tabular}{l} 
'nø-kuk=ka? \\
\\
\\
\(2 S G\) \\
die-SBJV
\end{tabular}\(\quad\)\begin{tabular}{l} 
think-PROG;VIS=Q
\end{tabular}
'Do you want to die?'
In fact no one wants to die but this is asked in a context when the hearer is going to a dangerous place, e.g. abroad. This is actually a rhetorical question that signals a strong warning.
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 15.66 & raj-ki & iki & '6ii-t6e & 'nø-kuk=ka? \\
\hline & 2SG-ERG & writing & know-SBJV & think-PROG;VIS=Q \\
\hline & 'Do you w & nt to kn & now how to r & and write?' \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
15.67 ha tohit-t6e 'nø-na 'ak nesso ge-ni
now do;vbzr-SBJV think-NFNT1 INCLN age grow.old-NFNT2

\section*{'ala 'mit-tsha-ken}
still NEG-be.able-NMLZ;CONJ
bet. (TE47)
AUX
'Even if she wants to do it, she no longer is able because she has grown so old.'
The subject of this one is a grandma who has grown old and would need help from her sons.

Raising the transitivity of the modal attitude verb 'desire to'
Examples \(15.68-69\) show how this modality can be made higher in transitivity scale.
The verb used here is often used in Lhomi for such operations.
This operator and the complement clause has the following syntactic characteristics:
-The main verb is tshit which is T1 type verb. Typically it gets any nonpast or past finite suffixes.
-The complement clause is marked with an object nominalizer -pa NMLZ;Q.
-The main clause becomes a T1 clause. Now it refers to something like 'to show desire'. The inner desire in 'desire to' modality is unseen by others but in this one the agent/subject makes an attempt or acts in such a way that his desire becomes obvious. -The subjects of the complement clause and the matrix clause are co-referential. Case marking (ERG) of the subject is governed by the complement clause.
-The rest of the complement clause is the patient/object of the main T1 clause.

\subsection*{15.68 ŋа lemma gatcen 'khit-ran tcaa-la jun-tce \\ 1SG time many 2PL-self at-DAT come-SBJV \\ 'nø-pa thhi-pen. \\ think-NMLZ;Q do;vbzr-1PST}
'I wanted to come to you many times'. Or: Many times I showed my desire to come over to you.'
15.69 hi-ki tam hi-ko ma di ajekp-e u-ki ta di this-GEN speech this-head CONTR1 DEF ajekpa-ERG that-GEN horse DEF 'elama dzap-na 'thok-t6e 'nø-pa t6hi-pa
lie vbzr-NFNT1 take-SBJV think-NMLZ;Q do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q
hin-køp-pa bet. (TE68)
AUX-PROG;EXP-NMLZ;Q AUX
'As for this talking of Ayekpa, he actually had already decided (wanted) to take the horse by means of lying that way.'

This is from one of the so called Ayekpa stories and this sentence gives parenthetical information about Ayekpa's intentions and desire before the current events of the context.

\subsection*{15.2.6 Modal verb 'like to’.}

Lhomi has at least two constructions that express the idea of wanting or desire. One is in section 15.2.5. The other one which I call modal attitude 'like to' is in the current
section. It expresses speaker's wish or liking to do something. It has the following syntactic characteristics:
-The modal (matrix) verb is 'thet which is BR7 type verb and it means 'like to, would like to'.
-The subjects of the complement clause and the matrix clause are co-referential. Case marking (ERG) of the subject is governed by the matrix verb.
-This modal combines also with a third person subject and occurs in interrogative clauses.
-Typically it gets nonpast finite suffixes.
-This modal may occur in non-finite position too.
-The complement clause is marked by simultaneous activity marker -kin which makes it a patient/object of the matrix verb.
-The matrix verb may be also adjectivized, see 15.74.
Consider the following examples:
\begin{tabular}{llll}
15.70 & n-e phitsa-la tuwa & 'luk-kin & 'thek-kuk. \\
1SG-ERG child-DAT food & feed-NMLZ & like.to-PROG;VIS
\end{tabular} 'I would like to feed the baby'.
15.71 minp-Y 'khim-la lok-kin 'thek-kuk. y.brother-ERG house-DAT return-NMLZ like.to-PROG;VIS 'Younger brother would like to return home.'
```

15.73 n-e saar-la do-kin 'thek-kuk.
1SG-ERG city-DAT go-NMLZ like.to-PROG;VIS
'I would like to go to the city.'

```

There are several derivational operators that nominalize or adjectivize this verb 'thet. The following example illustrates how it is adjectivized:


The adjective 'thes-si is the predicate adjective of the verb trhun. This example refers to an event.

\subsection*{15.3 Deontic modality}

\subsection*{15.3.1 Modal verb 'need to'}

The meaning of this necessity modal is very close to the obligative modal verb 'have to' in section 15.3.2. However this one is a bit more versatile and is more frequent in every day usage. English meaning typically is 'needed to, there was/is a need, had a need, had to'. This modality has the following characteristics:
-The modal attitude verb gø- is the verb of the main clause which is BR1 or BR4 type.
-The main clause verb combines with both nonpast and past suffixes, e.g. -kuk, -son.
-The complement-clause verb is a nonpast verb root of almost any verb type except existential or copular verbs.
-The complement-clause subject is either dative or absolutive marked subject of the main clause.
-The subject of the complement-clause and the subject of the main clause are coreferential and the rest of the complement clause is the patient of the main clause.

Consider the following examples (verbs are underlined):
15.75 toto-la roo-ran-ki 'khim-la baalik
e.brother-DAT 3SG-self-GEN house-DAT bamboo.mat

\section*{kop}
to.place[NPST]
gø-SOП.
'Elder brother needed to roof his house.'
15.76 gotta thakuk-ki hok-la suk gø-son.

3SG overhang-GEN under-DAT enter[NPST] need.to-PST.VIS
'He needed to go underneath an overhang.'
15.77 u-ko 'ama-raj-ki ja-la sir mit-gø-ken bet.
that-head mother-self-ERG 1SG-DAT say NEG-need.to-NMLZ;CONJ AUX 'Mother, you do not need to tell me that.'
15.78 'ama di phitsa-la 'nin 'tsha-j-e
mother DEF child-DAT heart feel.hot-NMLZ;Q-INS

'Mother felt compassion towards the child and therefore mother had to die'.
This is from a fable and "mother" refers to a mountain goat. This statement is a parenthetical statement explaining to hearer why the mother was burned up in a fire.

\subsection*{15.3.2 Modal verb 'have to’}

Lhomi has another modality commonly known as obligative modal. (see Palmer F.R. 2001.Mood and Modality, second edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press:22). The verb is go- 'have to, must' and it has the following syntactic characteristics: -The modal verb is the main verb of the matrix clause which is BR1 or BR4 type.
-The main clause cannot be eventivized with any syntactic operators.
-Unlike the 'need to' modal verb in 15.3.1 this verb combines only with nonpast tense.
-The complement-clause verb is a nonpast verb root of almost any verb type except existential or copula.
-If there is an agent/subject it is in absolutive case and so is the patient/subject and dative/subject.
-The subject of the complement clause and the subject of the main clause are coreferential and the rest of the complement clause is the object of the main clause.

The following examples illustrate this modality:
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
15.79 & 'ama 'tshøtma-la 'tsha 'luk & go-ken & bet. \\
& mother gravy-DAT salt put[NPST] & have.to-NMLZ;CONJ & AUX \\
& 'Mother has to put salt into gravy.' & & \\
& There is a general obligation to do that. & &
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
15.80 & \begin{tabular}{l} 
minpu \\
y.brother \\
\\
\\
\\
\\
\end{tabular} \(\mathbf{Y o u n g e r ~ b r o t h e r ~ h a s ~ t o ~ g e t ~ u p . ' ~}\)
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
15.81 & tuwa & 'nøtt6a-la & '60n & \(\underline{\text { go-ken }}\) & \(\underline{\text { bet. }}\) \\
& porridge & pot-DAT & fit.into[NPST] have.to-NMLZ;CONJ & AUX \\
& 'The porridge has to fit into the pot.' &
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
15.82 & 'tsheppa & dzak & \begin{tabular}{l} 
go-ken \\
rain
\end{tabular} \\
& vbzr[NPST] & have.to-NMLZ;CONJ & \(\frac{\text { bet. }}{\text { AUX }}\)
\end{tabular}
'It has to rain.' Or: 'It must rain.'
Speaker sees the clouds or he may express a need for rain.

Next I will give an example how this modal verb combines with a complementclause verb of BR7 type. It is only when the transitivity of a BR7 verb is raised that it can combine with this modality verb. The process changes somewhat the meaning. Consider the following example:
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 15.83 & n-e tam & hi-ko ran & 'ha & khoo-wa \\
\hline & I-GEN message & this-head 2SG & aud.impact & hear;understand-NMLZ;Q \\
\hline & t6hit & go-ken & & bet. \\
\hline & do;vbzr[NPST] & have.to-NML & Z;CONJ & AUX \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
'You must understand this message of mine.' Or: 'You have to make an effort to understand this message of mine.'

The meaning of 'ha khoo is typically 'to understand, to hear'. When a transitivizer (chyit) is added it becomes more like 'making an effort to understand'. Speaker is talking about difficult topic and the hearer has not grasped it.

\subsection*{15.3.3 Commissive modality 'committed to'}

This modality is still an obligation but the speaker has more choice. There is no need for him to yield to outside pressure. Therefore the subject is always first person. The characteristics of this modality are as follows:
-The noun 'sa is attached to the root of the main verb in a clause which has obligative modal, like one of those clauses in previous section. The meaning of this noun 'sa is 'a place, ground'.
-The main clause becomes nominalized and is the new complement-clause.
-The copular bet becomes the main verb. Note that this copular is unmarked for any evidentials (the first person typically would be hin rather than bet).
-The agent/subject of the complement clause is co-referential with the subject of the main clause. The rest of the complement-clause is the pedicate nominal of the copular verb bet. -The main clause is R1 type.

Consider the following examples (nominalized complement-clause verb and the main verb are underlined):
15.84 ja 'khim so

1SG house build[NPST] go-sa bet.
'I am committed to build a house.' Or:'It is a must for me to build a house.'
The challenge may come from outside but the decision is still in the hands of the speaker. NP is predicate nominal of the copular verb.
\begin{tabular}{llll}
15.85 & ya iki dok & go-sa & bet. \\
1SG writing read[NPST] & have.to-ground & COP \\
'I feel I have to study.' \\
& Just like in the previous example the NP is the predicate nominal.
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
15.86 & nit & jampu-la & do & go-sa \\
& 1PL.EXCL Kathmandu-DAT go[NPST] & have.to-ground & \(\frac{\text { bet. }}{\text { COP }}\)
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{15.3.4 Subjunctive marked complement with an existential main verb}

I do not make any sharp distinction between modality and mood in this grammar sketch. Palmer says about subjunctive: "Yet subjunctive can also be used with second person subjects, to express weak obligation". (see Palmer F.R. 2001.Mood and Modality, second edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press:138). In Lhomi subjunctive has weak obligation and it occurs with 1-3 person subjects. That justifies to include it in this section of deontic modality. Subjunctive has the following syntactic characteristics in Lhomi:
-The complement clause is nominalized with either -t6e (the subjunctive marker) or -t6ema, SBJV-F2.
-The verb root is nonpast.
-The verb of the main clause is existential which gets all finite syntactic markings, e.g. evidentials.
-The main clause is BR1 or R2 type. The case markings of a human subject is determined either by the complement-clause verb or the finite existential verb. With non-human subject it is the whole complement clause which is a patient or a predicate nominal of the main clause.
-The English meaning of the declarative is 'should, ought to'.
-When the complement clause is negated its English meaning is: 'should not, ought not to'.
-When the main clause is negated its English meaning is: 'need not to, have no need to'. With unvolitional verbs it often translates into English like 'should not'.

The following examples illustrate this weak obligation modality (markers are underlined):
15.87 u-la
that-DAT porridge NEG-put-SBJV-F2
duk.
EXIST.VIS
'You should not feed the child.'
Speaker feels that the child is big enough to eat himself.
15.88 raj-la 'khim tsik so-t6e-ma duk.

2SG-DAT house INDF build-SBJV-F2 EXIST.VIS
'You ought to build a house.'
Speaker sees the old rotten house and makes this comment.
```

15.89 ŋа saar-la do-tge-ma iøt.
1SG city-DAT go-SBJV-F2 EXIST.EXP

```
'I ought to go to the city'. Or: 'I should go to the city.'
\begin{tabular}{llll}
15.90 & クa saar-la do-t6e-ma & mit. \\
& 1SG city-DAT & go-SBJV-F2 & NEG.EXIST.EXP
\end{tabular}
'I do not have to go to the city. Or: I have no need to go to the city.
\(\begin{array}{lllll}15.91 & \begin{array}{l}\text { pha-la } \\ \text { cow-DAT }\end{array} & \text { tuku kii-t calf } & \text { be-ma } & \text { iøk-ken-SBJV-F2 } \\ & \text { EXIST-NMLZ;CONJ } & \text { bet. } \\ \text { AUX }\end{array}\)
'The cow ought to deliver a calf.'
Speaker knows, it is general knowledge about every cow. It is abnormal if it does not.
15.92 'khit-la hi-ko ' \(6 \varnothing t-t 6 e \quad\) iøp=pa(k)? (TE56)

2PL-DAT this-head speak-SBJV EXIST=Q
'Do yo know this?' Or:'Do you have this information?'
With the verb '6øt 'to speak, to tell someone something' this whole construction has been grammaticalized and simply means 'to know, to have information'. The other Lhomi verb '6ii which often is translated into English as 'to know' refers to "know how" abilitive or to a learning process, see chapters 15.2.3 and 13.1.
15.93 ja-la 'trhampa khø-t6e mit.

1SG-DAT flu contract-SBJV NEG.EXIST.EXP
'I should not get a flu.'

\subsection*{15.94 'tsheppa dzak-t6e-ma}
duk.
rain vbzr-SBJV-F2
EXIST.VIS
'It ought to rain.'

Speaker states this when he sees how dry the soil is. The complement clause is the predicate NP of the main verb duk.
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
15.95 & hi-ki tam hi-ko & hatca-ran-ki & then-ki \\
this-GEN speech & this-head & 1PL.INCL-self-GEN & memory-INS \\
'sø-t6e-ma & & duk. & \\
& survive-SBJV-F2 & & EXIST.VIS
\end{tabular}
'We ought to keep this speech in mind. Or: 'We ought to remember this speech.'

\subsection*{15.96 u-ko hatca-raj-ki 'sii-t6e-ma duk.}
that-head 1PL.INCL-self-ERG know-SBJV-F2 EXIST.VIS
'We ought to know that.'
Speaker states this to his companions because they have just met others who seem to know something they do not.

All previous examples in 15.3.4 refer to a state of affairs. The next example illustrates an event:
\begin{tabular}{llll}
15.97 & roo saar-la do-t6e & tshur-son. \\
& 3SG city-DAT go-SBJV & happen-PST.VIS
\end{tabular}
'He had to go to the city.'
The person has gone to city and someone reports it. This is not perfect-subjunctive but rather past obligative. The verb of the main clause is trhum-son and the rest of the clause is the inanimate patient.

\subsection*{15.3.5 Subjunctive marked complement with a copular main verb}

This deontic construction has the following characteristics:
-The complement clause is nominalized with -tre, the subjunctive marker.
-The verb of the main clause is copular bet which may be negated but has no other finite markings.
-The main clause is R1 or R2 type. The case markings of a human subject is governed by the complement-clause verb. As to non-human subject it is the whole complement clause which is predicate nominal of the main clause.
-The English meaning is: 'I think he should, in my opinion he ought to'
-When the main clause is negated its English meaning is: 'I think he need not, I think he has no need to'.
\begin{tabular}{llll}
15.98 & roo-ki & rap-la guk-t.te & bet. \\
& 3SG-ERG & 2SG-DAT wait.for-SBJV & COP
\end{tabular}
'I think he ought to wait for you'. Or: 'In my opinion he ought to wait for you.'
Speaker gives his opinion with certain degree of uncertainty. The friend has gone ahead and the hearer is going to follow.
```

15.99 'aku passa\eta saar-la do-t6e bet.

```
uncle passang city-DAT go-SBJV COP
'In my opinion uncle Passang should go to the city.'
15.100 'aku passan saar-la do-t.te \(\quad \frac{\text { mem-pet. }}{\text { uncle }}\)
'I think uncle Passang does not have to go to the city.'
15.101 harin 'trheppa dzak-tse bet.
today rain vbzr-SBJV COP
'In my opinion it ought to rain today.'
It is the copula that communicates the idea that this is the opinion of the speaker.
\(\begin{array}{rlrlll}15.102 & \text { 'ani } & \text { phuttik-ki } & \text { na } & \text { nuu } & \text { 'sii-tse } \\ \text { aunt } & \text { phuttik-ERG } & \text { 1SG } & \text { face } & \text { know-SBJV } & \text { COP }\end{array}\)
'I think aunt Phuttik ought to know me personally.'

\subsection*{15.3.6 Subjunctive marked complement with the main verb 'become'}

This is often called perfect-subjunctive.
-The complement-clause is nominalized with the string of two suffixes -tce-ma. The verb root is past.
-The verb of the main clause is tshur-tuk which is marked with perfect of results marker PRF.VIS, see more about that in 13.1.3. Syntactically this verb behaves like a copula, e.g. it may have predicate nominals and predicate adjectives. Lexically it means: 'to happen, to become'.
-The main clause is R1 or R2 type. The case markings of a human subject is governed by the complement-clause verb.
-The subject is either animate or inanimate and the rest of the complement clause is the predicate nominal of the main verb tohum-.
-The English meaning is 'He should have, he ought to have.' It expresses frustration about something the speaker or someone else should have done but failed to do. Or frustration about something speaker or someone else has done but actually he should not have done. -When the complement clause is negated its meaning in English is: 'He should not have, he ought to have not'.

Consider the following examples:
15.103 n-e u-la tam thii-tre-ma

1SG-ERG that-DAT question ask[PST]-SBJV-F2
tshun-tuk ka.
happen-PRF.VIS CEP
'Actually I should have asked him.'
Speaker had the intention to ask the person something but he forgot and regrets now afterwards.

'Actually (I) should have come here (on that path).'
Speaker realizes that he had taken a wrong path. When he sees the right path he regrets that he had mistaken. Subject is left implicit.
15.105 u-ko saar-la 'mat-phin-t.6e-ma tohun-tuk.
that-head city-DAT NEG-go.come[PST]-SBJV-F2 happen-PRF.VIS 'He should not have gone to the city.'
Speaker sees that the person comes back and is drunk. This verb implies going and coming.

\subsection*{15.106 u-ko hatca-rap mat-sir-tee-ma tshun-tuk.}
that-head 1PL.INCL-self NEG-say[PST]-SBJV-F2 happen-PRF.VIS
'We should not have said that.'
Speaker feels remorse because the third party person had become angry.

\subsection*{15.4 Aspectual verbs}

\subsection*{15.4.1 Aspectual verbs marking inception}

Givon talks about aspectual verbs. (see Givón, Talmy. 2001. Syntax, An
introduction, Vol. I. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins:151). Lhomi uses such verbs to convey some grammatical aspects. In section 14.3.3 I have talked about inchoative aspect marked by the verbal suffix -pet. Inchoative or inceptive aspect may be marked also as follows: The verb nominalizer -SBJV-F2 -tse-ma is suffixed to the nonpast root of the verb. This nominalizes the clause and it becomes a complement clause. The feminine marker F2 does not refer to gender here. There are two choices for the aspectual verb, 'jeŋ- or tshit- .

The difference compared to the inchoative aspect marked by suffix -pet is that the event or process of events is starting or has just started. There are visible signs of the event beginning to happen. I have not observed any difference between the use of the matrix verbs 'jen- and tohit-. The verb 'jen when used as a main verb typically means 'seek for, look for something' but here it marks inceptive aspect without the normal lexical content. The latter is a common verbalizer without any lexical content and I gloss it elsewhere 'do;vbzr'. Consider the following examples (nominalizer and the matrix verb are underlined):

BR1 verb
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 15.107 & roo-la & 'myrak & '6or-t6e-ma & ' ien-kuk. \\
\hline & 3SG-DAT & sweat & perspire-SBJV-F2 & search-PROG;VIS \\
\hline & 'He starts & sweat.' & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Speaker sees some perspiration already on the face of his friend.

T1 verb
```

15.108 pap-e 'arak 'thu\eta-t6e-ma tohi-soj.
father-ERG liquor drink-SBJV-F2 do;vbzr-PST.VIS

```
'Father started to drink liquor.'
Speaker sees his father pouring liquor into a glass or beginning to drink.

R2 verb,
 'At the time when he almost reached the palace door his money was finished.'
This is from the story of a man who in order to marry the princess
tried to enter the royal palace by bribing the guards. There is an interesting detail in this example. The verb 'lit 'to arrive, to come' may either have an agent/subject or inanimate patient/subject depending on what is the deictic center. This time it was the door which was more important than he himself with his thoughts and plans. "Had the door reached him" he would have been able to enter the palace and get the princess. Often a passenger in a bus has the same view. It is the city which reaches the bus and the passenger.
BR7 verb tam 'ha khoo-tre-ma 'ien-kuk.
\(\mathbf{1 5 . 1 1 0}\) gott-e tand
3SG-ERG language aud.impact hear;understand-SBJV-F2 search-PROG;VIS
'He begins to understand the language.' Or: 'He understands the language already little bit.'

BR3 verb,
\begin{tabular}{rllll}
15.111 & laktsunma tsik & 'tshak-ni & nuk tshi-na \\
branch & INDF & break-NFNT2 & this.way do;vbzr-NFNT1
\end{tabular}
'tshar-t.te-ma t6hi-t6uy. (TE29)
fall.off-SBJV-F2 do;vbzr-PST.EXP
'One of the branches of the tree broke and therefore I almost fell down.'

\subsection*{15.4.2 Aspectual verb marking initiation}

The verb ren- may be classified semantically as belonging to initiation sub-group of aspectual verbs. (see Givón, Talmy. 2001. Syntax, An introduction, Vol. I. Amsterdam and Philadelphia:John Benjamins:151). With this verb the complement-clause verb is nonpast root without any suffixation. The main verb ren- does have a semantic content in itself, 'it is time, time came' and may be used also as a non-finite verb, see 15.115. It seems best to classify it as an aspectual verb in the constructions exemplified as follows (complement clauses are in square brackets):
\begin{tabular}{rllll}
15.112 [na & pha & u-ko & caka-la & ton ] \\
1SG & cow & that-head & pasture-DAT & \\
send;vbzr[NPST] & \(\frac{\text { ren-son. }}{\text { it.is.time-PST.VIS }}\)
\end{tabular}
'It is time for me to send that cow to pastures.'
The complement clause is the subject argument of the main verb. The main clause is R1 type.
15.113 [na \(\quad\)\begin{tabular}{l} 
'toham \\
1SG \\
'It is time for me to walk.' Or: 'The time came for me to walk.' Or:'My walking time
\end{tabular}
came.'

Speaker has been sick and laying down for a while and now he intends to walk.
15.114 \begin{tabular}{ll} 
['nam-san \\
sky-good
\end{tabular}\(\quad\)\begin{tabular}{l} 
ton \(]\) \\
send;vbzr[NPST]
\end{tabular}\(\quad\)\begin{tabular}{l} 
ren-son. \\
it.is.time-PST.VIS
\end{tabular}
'It was time to have a bright sky.' Or:'It is time to have a sunny day.'
It has been raining for a while and finally the sky clears up.


\subsection*{15.4.3 Aspectual verb marking completion}

Completive aspect typically expresses the completion of an event or activity or motion. (see Payne, Thomas E. 1997. Describing morphosyntax: A guide for field linguists. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 214). Naturally this aspect only combines with the past tense and the past perfect tense. The completive aspect in Lhomi makes use of the auxiliary 'tshar. The main verb has past root and it stands alone. It is the auxiliary ('tshar) which gets all the finite suffixation. Elsewhere this verb typically means 'to fall down from, to fall off'. It is a telic verb. Perhaps that is the reason why the language has employed it to mark completion of activity like eating. In the text I have retained the original meaning of this verb 'tshar though it is lexically empty auxiliary here. There is another way to mark completive aspect in section 17.2.4.

Consider the following examples (completive aspect markers are underlined):
T1 verb
\begin{tabular}{clll}
\(15.116 \mathrm{y}-\mathrm{e}\) & tuwa & \(\underline{\text { se }}\) & 'tshar-en. \\
1SG-ERG & porridge & eat[PST] & fall.off-1PST
\end{tabular}
'I finished eating.'
The verb 'tshar is an auxiliary here and it is semantically empty and only marks the completive aspect.

ST1 verb
15.117 roo-so lsimun-la dze 'tshar-a bet.

3SG-PL1 mountain-GEN peak-DAT climb[PST] fall.off-NMLZ;Q AUX 'They finished climbing and reached the top of the mountain.'

R2 verb
15.118 halo-ni pik-ki phitsa di-ki S.L.C. di this.year-ABL 1PL.EXCL-GEN child DEF-GEN SLC.exam DEF thup 'tshar-a bet. (TE74) finish[PST] fall.off-NMLZ;Q AUX
'This year the SLC exam of our child was completed.'

BR7 verb
15.119 u-ki kettca u-ko jamp-Y mi khajet
that-GEN story that-head Kathmandu-GEN man plural
kurik-ki 'ha khoo 'tshar-a bet.
all-ERG aud.impact hear[PST] fall.off-NMLZ;Q AUX
'All men of Kathmandu got to hear that story.'
This example shows how the completive aspect marks the end of the process of the story spreading around.

Table 15.2 Summary of the aspectual verb 'tshar
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|l|}
\hline Lexical verb & Aspectual verb & Auxiliary & Suffixes it combines with \\
\hline V(past root) & 'tshar-en & \multirow{3}{|c|}{} & 1PST \\
& 'tshar-a & bet & NMLZ;Q AUX \\
& 'tshar-son & & PST.VIS \\
& 'tshar-tuk & & PRF.VIS \\
& 'tshar-tcun & & PST.EXP \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{15.4.4 Aspectual verb marking immediative aspect}

The immediative aspect conveys the idea of immediateness of an action. This is not to be confused with immediate aspect.( see Givón, Talmy. 2001. Syntax, An introduction, Vol. I. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins:298).

This aspectual verb combines with action and motion verbs. The verb has past root and the auxiliary follows it with appropriate finite endings. It is the auxiliary ton/tan which marks this aspect and also governs the tense of the clause.

Immediative aspect cannot be negated. This aspect is very commonly used in the conversation and narratives.

Table 15.3 Construction of immediative aspect
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|l|l|}
\hline \begin{tabular}{l} 
Action \\
Verb
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
First \\
auxiliary
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
Second \\
auxiliary
\end{tabular} & Finite Suffix & Tense \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|l|l|}
\hline PST Root & ton- & & -ken & -NMLZ;CONJ \\
\hline PST Root & ton-ken & bet & & -NMLZ;CONJ AUX \\
\hline PST Root & tan-a & bet & & -NMLZ;Q AUX \\
\hline PST Root & tan- & & -son, -tuk & -PST.VIS, -PRF.VIS \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Consider the following examples (the auxiliary is underlined):
T1 verb
15.120 api phuttik-ki tsha dak-y 'set tan-tuk. aunt phuttik-GEN chicken friend-ERG kill[PST]

IMMED-PRF.VIS 'A friend has killed the chicken of aunt Phuttik.'

T2 verb,
15.121 ni sypu di-la lon 'mit-tshuu-kel-la
theme body DEF-DAT rise NEG-be.able-NMLZ;CONJ-DAT
sø tan-a bet. (TE31)
make[PST] IMMED-NMLZ;Q AUX
'They made his body unable to get up'.
This happened after beating him very badly.
BT1 verb,
\(\begin{array}{llllll}\mathbf{1 5 . 1 2 2} & \text { hi-ni } & \text { jan } & \text { 'onpu } & \text { tsem-ma } & \text { di-ki }\end{array} \quad\) 'tohe
ŋа 'oŋp-y=raŋ 'kherak-ki 'thik ton-ken. (TE21)
1SG health-INS=FOC force-INS go.bring[PST] IMMED-NMLZ;CONJ
'Then the healthy one said: "As for me, certainly l'll go and take her for marriage forcefully with my strength".'

This is from a story where each one of four characters makes a plan how he would get the princess of the country for marriage. Immediative aspect in this one refers to a rapid action.

ST2 verb,
\begin{tabular}{cll}
15.123 na gur-na & det & ton-ken. (TE29) \\
1SG put.up-NFNT1 & sit;stay[PST] & IMMED-NMLZ;CONJ \\
'Putting up with it I just sit down.' &
\end{tabular}

This is from a dream in which the speaker is harassed and he decides to put up with it. Note that the tense is nonpast but the root of the main verb (det) is past.

\subsection*{15.5 Directive modalities}

\subsection*{15.5.1 Imperatives}

The imperative in Lhomi expresses a command or a suggestion of the speaker directed to the hearer or hearers who is/are supposed to take a certain action or accomplish a short span of activity. Imperative typically combines with agentive verbs and it refers to an event and is manifested by the imperative root of the verb. There are some
exceptions to this, see examples 12.19 and 15.166. All imperative verb forms are interpreted as nonpast.

Understandably imperative is rarely used in polite commands but precative is used instead, see section 15.5.2.

\subsection*{15.5.1.1 Immediative imperative}

Immediative imperative expresses a command or a suggestion of the speaker directed to the hearer or hearers who is/are supposed to do a single action right away. It is applicaple only with second person singular (2SG) and second person plural (2PL) adressee. The speaker and hearer are proximate at the time of the command. It is the imperative root of an agentive verb that marks immediative imperative. Consider the following examples (imperative root is underlined):

\subsection*{15.124 tot6u}
water.filled.pot
'Put the pot on the fire!'
The hearer is sitting right by the fire and so is the speaker and the water pot is already filled with water. It requires immediate action.

\subsection*{15.125 ran hi-ni dzuk. \\ 2SG this-ABL run.away[IMP] \\ 'Go away from here!'}

This is very low form in the honorific scale and is adressed only to a child. The child is somehow on mom's way and she commands him to go somewhere else.
15.126 'noksam ga-ntikma taj-na nam t6øt. (TE56)
reasoning feel.good-ADJVZR send;vbzr-NFNT1 darkness cut[IMP]
'Find out by reasoning truly about it!'
Speaker has argued about something and he challenges the hearers to think and reason about it in order to come to the same conclusion.

\subsection*{15.127 piscin di-pa tr. (TE4)}
reed DEF-PL2 wash[IMP]
'Wash the reeds!'
Speaker gives this order to women who have just brought the beer pots.
Everybody has the pot right in front of him and each pot has a reed to suck the beer with.

\section*{Nominalized R1 type clause as a complement of immediative imperative main clause (verb)}

It is obvious that unvolitional verbs like 'to die' or 'to become healed' cannot have imperative. However they may be nominalized and marked for dative case. The NP becomes the indirect object of the main clause which has a volitional verb in imperative. Consider the following two examples (imperative roots are underlined):

\subsection*{15.128 'ci-la dzauk.}
die-DAT run[IMP]
'Become dead!’ Lit. ‘Go to death!'
A speaker may utter this curse only to someone who has deeply offended him. Normally this would not be an acceptable utterance.

\subsection*{15.129 thak-la dzuk. \\ become.healed-DAT run[IMP] \\ 'Be healed!'}

Someone who is a healer may utter this to a sick person. It is not a wish that an ordinary person may utter to a sick friend but a command.

\section*{Nominalized BR7 type clause as a complement of the immediative imperative main clause (verb)}

It is equally obvious that verbs like 'to understand' or 'to know' cannot be used in imperative. However they may be nominalized with an object nominalizer -pa. The NP becomes the direct object of the main clause which has a volitional verb in imperative. Subjects are co-referential and the rest of the clause is the patient/object of the main clause. Also a semantic shift takes place in the nominalized verb.

Consider the following (nominalizer and the new verb are underlined):
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \multirow[t]{2}{*}{15.130} & 万-e & tam & 'ha & - & hi. \\
\hline & \multicolumn{5}{|l|}{1SG-GEN message aud.impact hear;} \\
\hline & \multicolumn{5}{|l|}{'Understand what I say now!' Or: 'Make an effort to grasp my speech!'} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

This BR7 type verb 'ha khoo has two senses 'to hear' and 'to understand'. It is the latter sense that it has in this example. The second person adressee is left implicit. The subjects of the nominalized clause and the main clause are co-referential.

\subsection*{15.131 iki '6ii-pa tshi.}
writing know-NMLZ;Q do;vbzr[IMP]
'Make an effort to learn reading and writing!'
This refers to an event of learning. Person may already know a bit how to read and write but he needs to make his final push to have this new skill under control. After one is over this hump he may tell others that he knows how to read and write. There is more about this in chapter 13 on evidentials.

\subsection*{15.5.1.2 Punctiliar imperative}

In addition to a command or a suggestion the punctiliar imperative conveys the idea of punctiliar or momentary action in fulfilling the command or suggestion. It signals temporal shortness of an action. The marker is -lon which combines with imperative verb roots of volitional action verbs.

When this typically inflectional suffix combines with non-finite verbs it nominalizes them and I have treated that under different section on complementation in chapter 17.3.4.

Consider the following examples of this imperative structure (the marker is underlined):
15.132 u-ki philin u-ko pur-lon.
that-GEN basket that-head throw.away[IMP]-PUNC
'Throw that basket away!'
Speaker considers the basket useless. Punctiliar imperative in this one entails the
idea of no more hesitation, throw it right away.
15.133 hi-ni 'sattcip tsik-ki tsam sok-lon
this-ABL secretary INDF-ERG away put.leave[IMP]-PUNC
'khit-ray-ki too u-ko. (TE58)
2PL-self-GEN tradition that-head
'Then one of the secretaries said: "Abandon right away that tradition of yours!"'
Punctiliar imperative in this example conveys the idea that the suggestion be carried out momentarily, not like a long process. This is a suggestion (not a real command) by a low ranking government official who addresses the people of a Lhomi village.
15.134 hi-ntuk t6hi-pa-la \(\quad\) khant-e 'simpa '6or-kuk=ka?
this-ADVZR do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q-DAT what-GEN mind go.after-PROG;VIS=Q
hi-ko t6am 'lø ton-lon. (TE64)
this-head away desire send;vbzr[IMP]-PUNC
'Why does your mind go after that kind of deeds? Abandon them without
hesitation!'
Speaker is encouraging his audience to mend their ways in a momentary action.

\subsection*{15.5.1.3 Honorific imperative}

The honorific system in Lhomi is very complicated. It usually requires the replacement of the whole verb and sometimes even nouns and adjectives. Kinship terms, as terms of address, often determine the honorific degree indicated in verbs. It is not my intention to go into details of the honorific system in this section. In the honorific imperative the replacement of the ordinary verb with an honorific one may be sometimes enough. An honorific verb behaves like any other verb of the same type. However if the speaker wants to be polite he uses proper address terms and precative, see in section 15.5.2.
15.135 'men tsik 'nan.
medicine INDF give[HON.IMP]
'Please give me some medicine!'
Though an honorific verb is used, this construction is not highly honorific and is not used often. Precative with honorific verb is more common instead, see example 15.154.

\subsection*{15.5.1.4 Speaker centered imperative}

Speaker centered imperative, SCl , indicates that the hearer has to go to another location and come back to speaker in order to fulfill the order or that he has to come to
speaker to fulfill it or that the action or activity of fulfilling the order is somehow directed towards the speaker or that the hearer is somehow accountable to the speaker for the action he fulfills.

This imperative is marked by -let which is suffixed to the imperative root. It combines only with agentive verbs. When negated the negative prefix is attached to the verb.

Consider the following examples (the marker is underlined):
\begin{tabular}{rl}
15.136 \\
te-ki tuwa \\
rice-GEN food & ton-let. (TE4) \\
send;vbzr[IMP]-SCI
\end{tabular}
'Send us some cooked rice!'
Speaker is the host of workmen who are eating and he orders the women to bring some cooked rice. The action to fulfill the order is directed towards the speaker who is one of the eaters.
```

15.137 ha na baalik kop-let. (TE4)
now RSPNS bamboomat cast-SCl
'Put the bamboo mats on the roof! Or: 'Roof the house!'

```

This is a phase in building a house. Speaker is the leader who gives the orders and he is right there. He is responsible for the whole process. All workmen are addressees. He himself may not participate in the actual work of roofing but he is involved as a leader and others are accountable to him.
```

15.138 dzaa-p-Y phu-mu-la matcik-ra\eta 'phil-la
king-M1-GEN
son-F1-DAT aunt-self go.come-DAT
khanta-la pakka-la 'mit-thør-ken
what-DAT outside-DAT NEG-come.out-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
sin-na thii-let. (TE21)
say-NFNT1 ask-SCI

```
'Aunt, go to the princess, ask her: "Why do you not come outside?" '
Speaker commissions his aunt and the order is carried out in another location, in front of the princess. The point is that the aunt has to come back and tell the answer to the speaker.
15.139 ni hi-ko ha '6øt-let
this-head now speak-SCI
\(\begin{array}{lll}\text { sin-na } & \text { nem-pa } & \text { bet. } \\ \text { (TE21) } \\ \text { say-NFNT1 } & \text { listen-NMLZ;Q } & \text { AUX }\end{array}\)
'She said: "Tell it to me now!" and then she listened.'
The princess is in dilemma and it is the "aunt" who gives the order to the princess to speak. The activity of speaking is directed towards the one who gave the order, no distance involved.
15.140 ha na 'aku dzentser-ran 'ensuk-la lon-let. (TE4)
now RSPNS uncle dzendzen-self first-DAT rise.up-SCI
'Now uncle Jyendzen, get up first!'
Speaker gives an order to the officiating lama and tells him to get up from sitting position to receive a scarf from the speaker. The hearer ranks only little bit higher than the speaker, hence no honorifics are used.
```

15.141 'aku dzentsel-la 'ensuk-la puu-let. (TE4)
uncle dzendzen-DAT first-DAT offer-SCI
'Serve uncle Jyendzen first!'
Speaker gives an order to one of the servants in the party of his house dedication.
The hearer is accountable to the speaker who gives the command.

```

\subsection*{15.5.1.5 Emphatic imperative}

The emphatic imperative is formed by attaching the emphatic clitic -te either to the imperative root or to the speaker centered imperative marker SCI, -let. By using this emphatic clitic the speaker expresses his deeper desire or more emphatic command/order. Emphatic clitic combines with immediative imperative and speaker centered imperative. This same clitic combines with the hortative and intentive. Obviously it would not be normally acceptable to use an emphatic form if high honorifics are used. In the examples below the verb roots are all imperative roots. Consider the following examples (the emphatic marker is underlined):
15.142 'lama khajet ha na mola t6ik toj=te. (TE4)
lama plural now RSPNS formal.thanking INDF send;vbzr[IMP]=EMPH
'All lamas, do perform now the formal thanking ritual!'
This is done at certain time of a party and not everybody can do it. The host gives this emphatic suggestion to younger lamas who know the wording of it.
15.143 'khit-ran 'tohaa-mit tsik-la biwu tsuu-la tø=te. (TE46)

2PL-self manure-NEG INDF-DAT seedling plant[PST]-DAT watch[IMP]=EMPH
'Plant the seedlings on soil of no manure and watch it (grow)!'
Speaker is the village headman who reprimands the villagers. This is his suggestion how the villagers can find out themselves and as the result would eventually agree on his suggestions of getting sheep manure.

\subsection*{15.144 gempu karma \(\eta\)-e 'khim-la tchøl-let=te. \\ headman Karma 1SG-GEN house-DAT come[HON]-SCI=EMPH \\ 'Headman Karma, please do come to my house!'}

An honorific verb is used (tshøn) and therefore this is considered an honorific imperative. However the adressee is not all that much higher socially than the speaker. It is obvious that emphatic imperatives could not normally be used with honorifics.
15.145 'we 'aku ajekpa ja-la 'aŋ-tam t6ik '6øt-let=te. (TE69)

SCA uncle ajekpa 1SG-DAT cheating-story INDF tell[IMP]-SCI=EMPH
'Hello uncle Ayekpa, do tell me a story about cheating!'
A man meets on trail the famous trader and story teller called Ayekpa who cheats people and tells stories about cheating. The man wants to hear a story. No need to use honorific forms for such a character. It is the activity of speaking which is directed towards the one who requested it.

\subsection*{15.5.2 Precative}

When the 'AID' marker in Lhomi combines with imperative the idea is that the addressee helps to accomplish the proposition which the speaker has made. The result is not a command but a polite request which is used very frequently. Speaker centered clitic -let may be used with this precative.

The syntactic characteristics of this structure are as follows:
-The nominalizing AID marker -ro is attached to the nonpast root of the complement-clause verb. There is more about this complementizer in 17.3.6.
-The main verb tohit 'do;vbzr' is added and it is in imperative.
-Complement-clause verbs with this precative structure are typically agentive verbs, but occasionally also R1 or BR7 verbs may occur.
-The whole complement clause is the object of the main clause which is T1 type.
-Subject of the complement clause is not co-referential with the subject of the main clause.
-It is the imperative main verb which may be negated but the negation is spread backwards.

Consider the following examples (nominalizer -ro and the main verbs are underlined):
```

15.146 ja tuwa sa-ro tohi.
1SG food eat[NPST]-AID do;vbzr[IMP]
'Help me to eat!' Or: 'Make it possible for me to eat!

```

Speaker is so sick that he cannot eat by himself and he is asking for help from the hearer.
15.147 hi-ni dzintak di-ki u-la 'jon khanta khanta duk=ka
this-ABL host DEF-ERG that-DAT other what what EXIST.VIS=Q
'6øt-ro t6hi sin-na suwa dzak-ken bet. (TE49)
speak-AID do;vbzr[IMP] say-NFNT1 request vbzr-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'The host begs him saying:"Whatever else there is, please do tell it!"'
Speaker (host) is sick and a shaman healer is right there to set his conditions for healing. This is a polite request though no honorific verbs are used.


Speaker is not able to go and someone has to go and bring the lama. Speaker uses a low pronoun. The addressee would help the speaker to accomplish his goals.

\subsection*{15.149 daku tohit-ro t6hi-let.}
friend do;vbzr-AID do;vbzr-SCl
'Go and help them!'
Speaker sees that some people in a distance need help and he requests his companion to go and help them. He is supposed to come back later, -let.
15.150 па 'thik-ro mat-t6hi 'jon 'thik-ro tohi.

1SG fetch-AID NEG-do;vbzr[IMP] another fetch-AID do;vbzr[IMP]
'Make it possible, not to fetch me!' 'If possible, fetch someone else!'
Speaker is politely declining to go to court as a witness and he requests the hearer to get someone else instead.

\subsection*{15.151 ŋа '6i-ro t6hi.}

1SG die-AID do;vbzr[IMP]
'Help me to die! Or: 'Let me die!' Or: 'Make it possible for me to die!'
Speaker is an old and sick person who wants to die. He utters this request to a god or to a religious functionary who has been called to perform rituals for healing him. It does not imply any concrete help for dying. This may be uttered also as a curse for one's enemy. Then it is addressed to an evil god in the absence of the victim.

\subsection*{15.152 u-ko 'mik-ki 'thon-ro mat-tshi.}
that-head eye-INS see-AID NEG-do;vbzr[IMP]
'Make it possible for him not to see with his eyes!'
If he sees make him blind. If he does not see, do not heal him!

\subsection*{15.5.3 Honorific precative}

The only difference to ordinary precative is that the main verb twhi is replaced with the honorific verb 'nan 'to give'. The next couple of examples illustrate this:
15.153 n-e 'ama 'lon-ro 'nan.

1SG-GEN mother raise.up-AID give[HON.IMP]
'Please raise my mother up!' Or: 'Please heal my mother!'
This is a proper honorific precative addressed to a shaman who is supposed to heal the mother.
15.154 'men trik \begin{tabular}{lll} 
'man-ro & 'nan. & 'nan. \\
medicine INDF & give[HON.NPST]-AID & give[HON.IMP]
\end{tabular}
'Please give me some medicine!'
This is higher honorific than 15.135.

\subsection*{15.5.4 Hortative}

The hortative is used to convey a suggestion or a command. The command is addressed to a second person hearer including the speaker also. The hortative requires at least one hearer. In Lhomi there are two kinds of hortative depending on whether both the speaker and the hearer(s) are included in the action or only speaker is involved. I call them first person singular hortative 1SG.HORT and first person plural hortative 1PL.HORT respectively.

The plural hortative is marked by finite verbal suffix -ton which is attached to the past root of the verb. The first person singular hortative is marked by -ki which is suffixed to the past root of the verb.

Lhomi hortative combines only with agentive verbs. Emphatic clitic -te combines with the 1 PL.HORT. The hortative is regarded as nonpast. Consider the following examples (markers are underlined):
15.155 ha
now
'Let us go now!'
No need to use a pronoun here, the hortative marker tells that the speaker and hearer(s) are included in the action or activity.
\begin{tabular}{llll}
15.156 dun & 'tchi-jaa & hi-ko & thyt-ton. (TE4) \\
wooden.plank big-COMP2 & this-head & drag[PST]-1PL.HORT \\
'Let us drag this bigger plank!' & &
\end{tabular}

Speaker tells this to all workmen who are building a house. Large planks are dragged on ground by several men.
15.157 n-e alin taa-ki.

1SG-ERG corn grind[PST]-1SG.HORT
'Let me grind some corn!'

\subsection*{15.158 roo-ki tuwa}
se-ki
si-kuk.
3SG-ERG food
eat[PST]-1SG.HORT
say-PROG;VIS
'He says: "Let me eat my meal"!'
In this example and in the previous one we can see that there is past verb root.

\subsection*{15.5.5 Emphatic hortative}

The following examples show that the emphatic clitic =te combines with the first person plural hortative (emphatic marker is underlined):
15.159 thanpuu-ki pitam trik 'luk-ton=te \(\quad\) 'ala. (TE16)
long.time.ago-GEN story INDF put-1PL.HORT=EMPH still
'Let us record one more story of old days!'

Speaker has been putting his stories on tape recorder. He is the story teller and the other person is recording them on casette.
\begin{tabular}{lll}
15.160 & u-la \(\quad\) te-ton=te & ta. \\
& that-DAT watch-1PL.HORT=EMPH & EMPHP \\
& Let us all watch him!' &
\end{tabular}

Speaker suggests that his friends watch closely a man to find out whether he will turn out to be a friend or an enemy. There is also emphatic particle in the end.
15.161 ni gempu karm-e lo tsik 'pii tsik 'siraa hi-ko
gembu karma-ERG year one two INDF hail this-head
'mat-run-a sak-ton=te. sinna... (TE58)
NEG-protect-NMLZ;Q leave-1PL.HORT=EMPH
‘Gembu Karma said: "Let us leave it not protected against the hail for one or two years!"' Or: 'Let us leave (the fields) unprotected against hail for one or two years!'

The village leader is actually arguing for protection of the fields against the hail storms. He wants the villagers to understand that otherwise there would be a harvest failure.

\subsection*{15.5.6 Non-proximate non-immediative imperative}

Non-proximate imperative is a directive from the speaker to hearer to gain the desired state or activity. Unlike immediative imperative the fulfilling of the command typically takes place in a different location from where it was uttered. Either there is a distance between the speaker and the hearer at the time of utterance or between the hearer and the place of fulfilling the order. Unlike the immediative imperative this directive is more generic and does not typically refer to a single action but rather to a desired activity or state or a prohibition.

The marker -tsit IMP2 is typically attached to the imperative root of an agentive verb or to the 1PL.HORT marker -ton. In the latter case the verb root is past root. Typically this directive has a second person addressee but it may have a third person addressee too, e.g. 15.163. When it combines with the 1.person plural hortative it refers both to first and second person, e.g. 15.164. This imperative may be negated.

Consider the following examples (suffix -tsit is underlined):
\(\begin{array}{lll}15.162 \text { ha ran } & \text { so-tsit } & \text { 'thun-tsit. } \\ \text { now } 2 \text { SG } & \text { eat[IMP]-IMP2 } & \text { drink[IMP]-IMP2 }\end{array}\)
'tshika力-ki se thay 'tshikan-ki khøn bek=o.
always-GEN eat[PST] and always-GEN clothing COP=NEW.INF
'Be eating and drinking now! Or: Let you eat and drink now! I inform you that this is your food and clothing for ever.'

This is part of postmortem rituals when the lama instructs the dead soul what to do. He instructs the dead man to eat and drink and wear clothes. Speaker and hearer are in two different worlds, one is alive and the other is dead.
15.163 'khit-raŋ 'su-la 'amtgok jøt-a刀 u-ki hi-ko nen-tgit.

2PL-self who-DAT ear EXIST-NMLZ that-ERG this-head listen-IMP2 'Anyone of you who has ears let him listen to this!'

\subsection*{15.164. hatéa-raŋ-ki téik-tan téik-la jii-pa \\ 1PL.INCL-self-ERG one-COM one-DAT be.wrong-NMZR;Q \\ 'mat-kap-ton-tsit.}

NEG-throw.at[PST]-1PL.HORT-IMP2
'Let us not be accusing each other of wrong doing!'
This does not refer to a single action but rather to a state. The writer refers to himself and the recipients of his letter.

\subsection*{15.165 'ne-tsan 'jor-toit.}
settle-nest lend-IMP2
'Give always lodging to visitors in your home!'
Father instructs his son to be always hospitable. Immediative imperative 'jar would refer just to one action of showing hospitality.
15.166 'we 'aku 'tshøtar nempet 'aku wantsin-ki kytcan jin SCA uncle 'tohøtar tomorrow uncle wantsin-GEN workman day
'lemma tsik 'sippøn døs-sa-la duy thyt=tu
occurrence one carpenter stay-ground-DAT plank drag=PURP
gomun 'khur=tu wasei kuttsi jun-ro tohi-tcit. (TE4)
sh.plank carry=PURP thumbs.up please come-AID do;vbzr-IMP2
'Hello uncle Chøtar, please do come tomorrow to carpenter's place for just one day to drag the long planks and to carry the short ones for uncle Wantsin!'

Speaker is shouting his request with very polite gestures. This entails activities for one whole day.

\subsection*{15.167 'sa nakpu 'mat-tøn-tcit.}
soil black NEG-turn.around-IMP2
'Do not do any field work!' Lit.: 'Do not turn around any black soil!'
The village leader is giving his instructions to all villagers for a religious holiday. He shouts it with a loud voice from his own yard. It is a reminder since most people know that on such a day no field work is allowed.
15.168 hi-ki tam hi-ko 'sii-pa tohi-tsit.
this-GEN language this-head know-NMLZ;Q do;vbzr-IMP2
'Make a long term effort to learn this language!' Or:'Study diligently to learn this language!'

This is a longer term instruction than e.g. ‘eii-pa tchi which typically refers to just momentary effort or a short time span of activity.

\section*{Non-immediative imperative with non-agentive verbs}

When the verb is a non-agentive it has some implications to the meaning of the whole construction. Consider the following examples:
```

15.169 'jon-tan mat-\etaii-tcit.
other-COM NEG-be.wrong-IMP2
'Be not wrong with another person!' Or: 'Let no one become wrong doer with
another person!'

```

This is a directive to everybody. The reference is to adultery. The verb is unvolitional, BR7. Though the adultary is a volitional act Lhomi prefers an unvolitional verb in this idiom.

\subsection*{15.170 'si-tsit.}
die-IMP2
'Be dying!' Or: 'Let you die!'
This is addressed to a person, to one's enemy. It is a curse or evil wish but it does not imply invoking any deity in order to accomplish one's wish. The meaning is very much like in 'єi-la dzuk 'go to death!'. Though the speaker and the hearer are very close to each other the fulfillment of this wish may take place elsewhere and later too.

\subsection*{15.171 tsur-ki mat-si-tsit.}
alcohol.drink-INS NEG-get.drunk-IMP2
'Let you never become drunk by alcohol!'
Someone gives instructions to his son. The verb is unvolitional BR6.

\subsection*{15.172 'khit-raŋ-la siwa diwa juŋ-tce \\ 2PL-self-DAT outer.peace inner.peace come-SBJV \\ jøp-pa \(\quad\) сok-tcit. \\ EXIST-NMLZ;Q put.leave-IMP2 \\ 'May the inner and outer peace remain with you!}

This is very much like the volitive modality in section 15.5.7.1 ...diwa juŋ-tce jøppatoj.

\subsection*{15.5.7 Volitive}

\subsection*{15.5.7.1 Pronouncing a curse or a blessing}

This modality in Lhomi signals speaker's 'wish, a prayer or a curse upon someone' This modality is frozen to only one particular "wish formula" which may be used as a good wish or a curse. The beneficiary/maleficiary of this wish may be second, first person or third person and he may or may not be present. The wish is directed either to a god or to a human or it may be just a generic wish without any particular fullfilling agent in mind. This "wish formula" or optative as it is also called, combines with all kinds of verbs.
-The imperative root ton is the verb of the matrix clause.
-The subject of the complement clause and the main clause are not always co-referential.
-The complement-clause is nominalized with the subjunctive marker -tre and the nominalized existential verb jøp-pa is added.
-The whole nominalized complement-clause is the object of the main clause.
-The agent/subject of the main verb ton is often left implicit.
The following examples illustrate this "wish formula" (the markers are underlined):
15.173 raj-ki pap-e raj-la 'mellam 'naj-t6e

2SG-GEN father-ERG 2SG-DAT blessing give[HON]-SBJV
¡øp-pa ton.
EXIST-NMLZ;Q send;vbzr[IMP]
'May your father give you his blessing!'
It is customary in Lhomi culture that the father gives his blessing to his family members just before he dies. Speaker utters this to someone whose father is very sick.
15.174 ŋ-e da u-ko '6i-t6e iøp-pa ton.

1SG-GEN enemy that-head die-SBJV EXIST-NMLZ;Q send;vbzr[IMP] 'May that enemy of mine die!
This is a generic wish addressed to a god or evil spirit which is unseen. Speaker does not always have to be thinking about any particular fulfilling agent for his wish.
15.175 ŋ-e natsa hi-ko thak-tge iøp-pa ton.

1SG-GEN sickness this-head be.healed-SBJV EXIST.NMLZ;Q send;vbzr[IMP]
'May this sickness of mine become healed!'
15.176 'khøt-la hi-ntuk tohi-pa nam nam-la ak juy-tbe

2SG-DAT this-ADVZR do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q when when-DAT INCLN come-SBJV
mip-pa
NEG.EXIST-NMLZ;Q
'May that never happen to you!'
Speaker has either seen or heard about something bad and pronounces this wish to his friend.
15.177 ŋ-e kettea hi-ko ran-ki 'ha khoo-t6e

1SG-GEN message this-head 2SG-ERG aud.impact hear;understand-SBJV
iøp-pa ton.
EXIST-NMLZ;Q send;vbzr[IMP]
'May you understand this message of mine!'
Speaker is explaining something which is difficult and he utters this wish.

\section*{16. Verb nominalization and relative clauses}

When talking about verb nominalization and relative clauses, Lhomi is not an exception among Tibeto-Burman languages. DeLancey says:"One of the striking typological characteristics of the Tibeto-Burman languages is their extensive use of
nominalization for a wide range of grammatical purposes." (DeLancey, Scott. 1999. Relativization in Tibetan. in Yogendra Yadava and Warren Glover, eds., Topics in
Nepalese Linguistics. Pp. 231-49. Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy:231).
In the current section I want to limit myself to talking about relative clauses only. Nominalization in this write-up is also discussed in chapters on complement clauses, adverbial clauses and modality verbs etc.

DeLancey claims that -pa is the most common nominalizer in Central Tibetan, (DeLancey, Scott. 1999. Relativization in Tibetan. in Yogendra Yadava and Warren Glover, eds., Topics in Nepalese Linguistics Pp. 231-49. Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy:234). This is also true in Lhomi. In addition to relativizing this marker has many other grammatical meanings in Lhomi. It is interesting that Bryan Varenkamp reports that in Eastern Tamang apparently this same marker (-ba) has all kinds of multiple grammatical meanings, (see Kansakar, Tej Ratna \& Mark Turin, eds. 2003. Themes in Himalayan languages and linguistics. Heidelberg: South Asia Institute and Kathmandu: Tribhuvan University:219).

The following list has those verb nominalizers that are used in Lhomi relativization: -pa NMLZ;Q,

This attaches typically to nonpast but also to past roots of any verb type.
The following morphophonemic changes occur with -pa:
-pa following root final \(/ \mathbf{\eta} /\) becomes \(/-\mathbf{a} /\),
-pa following root final vowel becomes /-jal or I-wal (these two alternate freely).
-ken NMLZ,
This one attaches to nonpast roots only. I have called this subject nominalizer. Lhasa Tibetan has -mkhan and DeLancey calls it agentive nominalizer (DeLancey, Scott. 1999. Relativization in Tibetan. in Yogendra Yadava and Warren Glover, eds., Topics in Nepalese Linguistics Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy:235) In Lhomi it nominalizes also non-agentive verbs and thus the label subject nominalizer,e.g 'sii-ken 'one who knows'.

As for the Lhasa Tibetan nominalizer -jag, Lhomi does not have that. The same is true of the Tibetan nominalizer -sa. The latter in Lhomi combines with verbs but produces a verb-noun compound, see also chapter 15.3.3. I regard -sa in Lhomi as a noun whose meaning is 'ground, earth'. Lhomi has none of the kind of examples DeLancey has listed for this Tibetan nominalizer (DeLancey, Scott. 1999. Relativization in Tibetan. in Yogendra Yadava and Warren Glover, eds., Topics in Nepalese Linguistics Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy. Pp.238-9).

\section*{-køtan NMLZ}

Perhaps this is a merger of -køt PROG;EXP and -tan COM. However I treat it as a unit, a nominalizer because it is so rare. This nominalizer occurs in correlative clauses, see section 16.1.7 on correlative clauses.

The following list of nominalizers have various grammatical meanings and I have treated them elsewhere:
-ri RECP. This is a complementizer and there is more about it in 17.3.2.
-top NMLZ. This nominalizes the verb in pretense modality construction in 15.1.2.4.
-tce SBJV. I have included this one here too because it does nominalize a verb but its grammatical meaning is treated elsewhere in this write-up, in chapters 15.3.4-6.
-lon PUNC. This marks punctiliar imperative in finite verbs, PUNC. It is also a complementizer, see more in 17.3.4. The following example illustrates this use of it:
16.1 roo-so tuwa sa-lon on mat-jun-a bet.
3SG-PL1 food eat-PUNC INCLN NEG-come-NMLZ;Q AUX
'They didn't even have a moment to eat their food (because they were so busy).'

The next example illustrates how even an existential verb without any nominalizer may occur as a NP complement of a matrix verb (the complement clause is in square brackets):
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 16.2 ग-e & 'sim-la [ ga-a-ki & kettia & duk \\
\hline \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 1SG-GEN } \\
& \text { di=ran ] }
\end{aligned}
\] & mind-DAT be.happy-COMP2-GEN min-tuk. & thought & EXIST.VIS \\
\hline DEF=FOC & NEG-EXIST.VIS & & \\
\hline 'There are & absolutely no good thoughts/ideas in & in my mind & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{16.1 Relative clauses}
16.1.1 Prenominal relative clause with external head

An external relative clause is a relative clause whose head noun phrase is outside the relative clause. (Payne, Thomas E. 1997. Describing morphosyntax: A guide for field linguists. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press:293)

Lhomi makes no use of relative pronouns and the main strategy is to use prenominal relative clause with external head. Headless relative clauses are equally common. Lhomi also uses extensively correlative clauses.

Prenominal relative clause is marked by genitive case marker which is attached to a nominalized clause. This genitive marker is the relativizer. The NP(CL)-GEN becomes then the relative clause which modifies the head noun or NP. Subject relative clause modifies the subject of the main clause. Unlike in Central Tibetan (DeLancey, Scott. 1999. Relativization in Tibetan. in Yogendra Yadava and Warren Glover, eds., Topics in
Nepalese Linguistics Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy:235.) the genitive marker (relativizer) is obligatory in Lhomi, except in headless relative clauses. The following examples illustrate subject relative clauses (the head NP is underlined and the relative clause is in square brackets):

\section*{Subject relative clause with external head}
\(\left.\begin{array}{llllll}16.3 & \text { hi-ni } & \text { [u-ki } & \text { lunp-e } & \text { kurim } & \text { ton-ken-ki] } \\ \text { this-ABL } & \text { that-GEN } & \text { area-GEN } & \text { kurim } & \text { send;vbzr-NMLZ;CONJ-GEN }\end{array}\right] \quad\) bet. (TE36)

It is the genitive marker that is the relativizer and the head NP is 'a religious functionary'. -ken NMLZ is typically an agentive nominalizer in Lhomi though it does nominalize also verbs of other types. The tense of this relative clause here is nonpast which is marked by the verb root and -ken.

\section*{16.4 [phu 'naj-ken-ki ] 'lama toik jøk-ken bet. (TE18) \\ son give[HON]-NMLZ;CONJ-GEN lama INDF EXIST-NMLZ;CONJ AUX NP(CL)-GEN NP(Head)}
'There is a lama [who gives a son].'
This entails that the lama does it by religious rituals for someone who has been barren. Genitive marker -ki is the relativizer and lama is the head NP.
16.5 ni sama nam-e 'natso khajet di
food many-GEN kinds plur DEF
[u-na jøp-p-e] \(\underline{\text { mi }}\) khajet di-ki kurik
that-IN EXIST-NMLZ;Q-GEN man plur DEF-ERG all
gø-na se ton-ken bet. (TE49)
divide-NFNT1 eat[PST] IMMED-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'As for the different kinds of food, all men [who are/were there] divide it all up and eat.'

\section*{Object relative clause with external head}
16.6 ['aku passay-ki sø-p-e ] 'khim di hi-ko bet. uncle passang-ERG build-NMLZ;Q-GEN house DEF this-head COP NP(CL)-GEN NP(Head)
'The house [which uncle Passang built], is this one.'
The nominalizer -pa produces typically object nominalization with agentive verbs.
16.7 [hatca-raj-ki 'khim-ki naj-la

1PL.INCL-self-ERG house-GEN inside-DAT
tim-p-e ] 'Iha di-la ket dzak-køp=pa? (TE48)
consecrate-NMLZ;Q-GEN god DEF-DAT voice vbzr-PROG;EXP=Q
NP(CL)-GEN NP(Head)
'Do you invoke the god [which we all have consecrated and placed] inside of our houses?'

\subsection*{16.1.2 Headless relative clause}

Thomas Payne says: "Headless relative clauses are those clauses which themselves refer to the noun that they modify."(Payne, Thomas.E. 1997. Describing morphosyntax: A guide for field linguists Cambridge: Cambridge University Press :293) The whole relative clause is nominalized and it refers to the missing head NP. The following examples illustrate this (the relative clause is in square brackets):

Headless subject relative clause

\section*{16.8 [hi-ki 'khim hi-ko so-ken di] 'aku passan bet. this-GEN house this-head build-NMLZ;CONJ DEF uncle passang COP '[He who builds this house] is uncle Passang.'}

The head noun has been dropped. The relativizer is the definite article which is in absolutive case. It is actually more common in Lhomi to drop the head noun than to retain it in a construction like this.

\section*{16.9 [roo-ki u-tu tuwa sa-ken] hiy-køppet.}

3SG-ERG that-LOC food eat-NMLZ;CONJ COP-INFER
'I think he is [the one who eats over there]'. Or: 'I think he is [the one eating over there.]'

Speaker sees the person while he makes this statement. He also sees the referent making some preparations like getting the fire going etc. Then he infers this statement. The relative clause construction highlights here the person rather than the eating process.

\subsection*{16.10 u-ko [saar-la do-ken] hin-køppet.}
that-head city-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ COP-INFER
'In my opinion he is [the one who goes to town].'
This is speaker's inference from circumstances. The relative clause becomes the predicate nominal of the copular clause. This highlights the person going to town rather than the activity of going. This is the reason why I feel that it is better to analyse this as a copular clause rather than regarding hin-køppet as an auxiliary. If the activity of going were on focus then the speaker would say: u-ko saar-la do-køppet. 'I think he goes to town.'

\subsection*{16.11 ŋа [na-ken] \\ hin-køppet. \\ 1SG get.sick-NMLZ;CONJ \\ COP-INFER}
'I think I am [one who is sick]. Or: I feel [one who is sick].'
This is inference based on circumstances, see more in chapter on evidentials
13.2.4. The verb 'to become sick' is nominalized and it becomes predicate nominal of the copular. This copular clause refers more to the person who feels sick. On the other hand ŋa na-køppet which is also inference refers more to the process of being sick.
16.12 ŋ-e iki 'pii-pa hi-ko thi-tce-ki thøn di

1SG-GEN letter two-ORD this-head write-SBJV-GEN purpose DEF
'en-ki kettea di then-sø 'lay-na 'khit-ran-ki 'sim-la
before-GEN message DEF remember-survive raise-NFNT1 2PL-self-GEN mind-DAT
'nørik tsaj-ma 'tбhar-tse jøp-pa-la [thii-pa] hin.
thinking pure-F2 rise.up-SBJV EXIST-NMLZ;Q.DAT write[PST]-NMLZ;Q COP.EXP
'As for the purpose of this second letter of mine, [I am one who wrote] this in order to remind you about the earlier letter and in order that you would have pure thoughts in your heart.'

It is not very common to use headless relative clause with a finite copula e.g. thiipa hin but it does occur occasionally. The more frequent finite form for agentive verbs is thii-pen write[PST]-1PST 'I wrote'. So what is the difference between these two? To use headless relative clause and copula thii-pa hin puts a lot more emphasis on the first person agent. In other words it topicalizes it. In this example typically object nominalizer pa is actually a subject nominalizer.

It is obvious that the more common thii-pen has come from thii-pa hin by a merger/contraction. For the time being I prefer my current analysis but it is possible to analyze the current form thii-pa hin also as write[PST]-NMLZ;Q AUX. This latter analysis would have implications on section 12.6.1. Lhomi uses a lot of headless relative clauses and that further strengthens my analysis that the finite verb is a copula rather than an auxliliary.

\section*{Headless object relative clause}

The following examples illustrate the headless object relative clause (relative clause is in square brackets):
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
16.13 & [tin-la & dik-ken & di-ki \(]\) & [u-ki & tin-la \\
after-DAT chase-NMLZ;CONJ & DEF-ERG & that-GEN after-DAT
\end{tabular}
'[One who herds (the sheep) from behind], has to herd cautiously [those who lag behind], the weaker ones'.

This is from the story of a sheep shepherd. One of the shepherds has to herd the sheep from behind the flock, because the weaker ones are slow. It is the latter headless relative clause which is the object in this clause. The first one in brackets is subject relative clause.


\subsection*{16.1.3 Internally headed relative clause}

Payne defines internally headed relative clause as follows: "An internally headed relative clause is a relative clause whose head noun phrase occurs within the relative clause itself. This type of relative clause, which occurs only in SOV languages, takes the place of a regular noun phrase argument in the main clause." (Payne, Thomas E. 1997. Describing morphosyntax: A guide for field linguists Cambridge: Cambridge University Press:295).

The following two examples illustrate internally headed relative clauses in Lhomi (relative clause is in square brackets):

\section*{Internal relative clause}
16.15 raj-ki [dompu jun-a di-la] tuwa tir go-ken bet(TE45)

2SG-ERG guest come-NMLZ;Q DEF-DAT food give have.to-NMLZ;CONJ AUX 'You must give food [to the guest who has come to your home].'
Younger sister is giving advice to her elder sister. The relative clause in this one is the indirect object of the main verb 'to give'. Its semantic role is dative.

be.alike-INTNS die-man corpse-man be.alike-INTNS make-NFNT1 leave[PST]
'Then after the policemen really had beaten up [all those who were inside the home of that man], they left them there like dead ones, like corpses.'

This relative clause is the grammatical object (semantic dative) of the nonfinite adverbial clause.It refers to those who were living in the house.

\subsection*{16.1.4 Non-restrictive relative clause}

A non-restrictive relative clause is a relative clause which only provides information about the head.

So far I have dealt mostly with restrictive relative clauses. The following examples illustrate some non-restrictive relative clauses in Lhomi (relative clauses are in square brackets and the relativizer is underlined):

\section*{Non-restrictive subject relative clause}

\subsection*{16.17 [roo-ki le tshik-ken]}
he-GEN work do;vbzr-NMLZ;CONJ
phu-mu 'jopma tsik
son-F1 other INDF
[khulak trk-ken nuk tohi-pa toik] jøp-pa bet. (TE21)
clothes wash-NMLZ;CONJ this do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q INDF EXIST-NMLZ;Q AUX
'There was another girl, [one who washed clothes, one who was her worker].'
There are two NPs in apposition. This is parenthetical information in the story. Both relative clauses in this example are headless ones. The finite verb of the main clause
governs the tense of the verbs in the relative clauses. Therefore though these verbs are marked for nonpast they are past.
[NP(CL)-ken] NP [NP(CL)-ken NP] VP


\subsection*{16.1.5 Subject relative clause in finite position}

Relative clauses are typically non-finite but occasionally they may occur in the finite position with all non-finite markings, e.g. nominalization. The examples 16.19-22 illustrate this. There are two reasons why this seems to happen, one is that the finite position in a Lhomi sentence is the highlighted slot for a clause. Finite clause carries the main information, Lhomi being an AOV language. Another reason is that particularly subject relative clause as such highlights the head NP. The dative case marker in the end of the relative clause further highlights the speaker's assertion. When using this particular construction speaker also rectifies the wrong information hearer may have. The relative clauses are in square brackets in the following examples:

\subsection*{16.19 ran 'mat-li-pa-ni}

2SG NEG-come-NMLZ;Q-ABL
[na 'el-laa jøk-kel-la.]
1SG before-ADVZR EXIST-NMLZ;CONJ-DAT
Lit: 'I am the one who was here before, when you had not come yet.' Or: 'I was here before you arrived.'
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
16.20 & ran-le ta \(\quad\) [na 'el-laa & jøk-kel-la.] \\
& 2SG-COMP.BASIS EMPHP & 1SG before-ADVZR & EXIST-NMLZ;CONJ-DAT \\
& lam certainly one who was here before you.'
\end{tabular}

This is fully acceptable independent clause, though the finite verb is nominalized.


This is a strange independent clause that has no typical finite suffixation at all.

\subsection*{16.1.6 Object relative clause in finite position}

When there are two clauses like in the example 16.19, it is the first one which is actually the finite clause. The relative clause is permuted to the finite position to make it more highlighted. Consider the following examples (relative clauses in square brackets):
\begin{tabular}{lll}
16.23 & n-e mat-bern & [roo-ki \(\quad\) berm-pa-la.] \\
& 1SG-ERG NEG-strike[PST] & 3SG-ERG strike-NMLZ;Q-DAT \\
& 'IAs for that man being beaten up] he did it, I did not.'
\end{tabular}
'[As for that man being beaten up] he did it, I did not.'
Speaker has been blamed for striking someone and he wants to correct it. The first clause is fully marked independent clause. This is clearly a clause permutation for highlighting purpose. The object of beating is implicit.
\[
\begin{aligned}
& 16.24 \text { hi-ki tam hi-ko [ } \dagger \text {-e tohi-pa-la.] } \\
& \text { this-GEN message this-head 1SG-ERG do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q-DAT } \\
& \text { 'As for this message, it was the message [which I spoke].' } \\
& \text { This is not a permutation of a clause. The speaker asserts and responds to } \\
& \text { someone else's claim. }
\end{aligned}
\]

\subsection*{16.1.7 Correlative clauses}

I have already talked about correlative pronouns in chapter 2.5.6. Lhomi does not make any use of relative pronouns at all. The correlative construction in Lhomi typically consists of two paratactic clauses. The first is nominalized and the second one is the main clause in which the whole first clause is either a subject argument or an object argument. The correlative pronouns come in pairs and I have listed them already but I repeat the list here.

Newar reportedly has the same kind of correlatives (Hale, Austin and Kedar P. Shrestha. 2006, Newār (Nepāl Bhāsā). [Languages of the World/Materials 256], München: Lincom Europa:225-) and also David Watters talks about correlative pronouns (Watters David E. 2002. A Grammar of Kham. Cambridge University Press:165).

Here is a more complete list of Lhomi correlative pronouns:
khanta.... uko
what... that

which one his
\(\frac{\text { kha-tsøt toik }}{\text { what amount .......... }} \frac{\text { u-tsøt toik }}{\text { that amount }}\)
man-lot .u-tsøt taik
how much ........ that much

kha-ntuk tohi-pa ....... u-ko/u-la
What kind of ............. that/at that
The following examples illustate the correlative clauses in Lhomi (relevant parts are underlined):

Correlative clause marked by the first pronoun pair in the list
 to do.'

Correlative clause marked by the second pronoun pair in the list
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
16.26 & jan keri & jøt-na & keri-ki & khan \\
& CONTR2 leader.sheep EXIST-NFNT1 & leader.sheep-ERG & kha-la \\
& whatever & what-DAT
\end{tabular}
'thik-kuk=ka u-ki tip-la u-ki luk 'joŋma
lead-PROG;VIS=Q that-GEN after-DAT that-GEN sheep other
khajet di do-ken bet. (TE30)
plural DEF go-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'On the other hand, if there is a leader sheep then wherever it leads, the other sheep will go after it.'

Correlative clause marked by the third pronoun pair in the list
16.27 ray-ki 'khim-la mi dompu 'su jun-kuk=ka

2SG-GEN house-DAT man guest who come-PROG;VIS=Q
u-ko dompu jur-a di-la tir go-ken bet. (TE45)
that-head guest come-NMLZ;Q DEF-DAT give have.to-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'A guest whoever comes to your house, to him, who has come as a guest, you must give (food).' Or 'Whoever guest comes to your house, to that person you have to give food.'

A sister is giving advice on how to show hospitality to guests.
Correlative clause marked by the fourth pronoun pair in the list
ni jan 'phas-si mac-6i-ki thik-la \(\quad\) 'hak tsik jan
CONTR2 father-field mother-field-GEN concerning-DAT right INDF CONTR2
u-ko thon-p-e 'sa khajet di u-ki thon-p-e mi that-head house-HUM1-GEN field plural DEF that-GEN house-HUM1-GEN man khan di-ki min-la 'sun-ki appis-tu dartaa which DEF-GEN name-DAT government-GEN office-LOC registration tshi jøt-an u-ki 'hak-la dzenj jun-ken bet.(TE52) do;vbzr[PST] EXIST-NMLZ that-GEN right-DAT all come-NMLZ;CONJ AUX 'On the other hand concerning the fields of a house, in which person's name of the house the fields have been registered in the government office, it is to him/her that the right of full ownership belongs to.'

Correlative clause marked by the eighth pronoun pair in the list 16.29 'aku 'tshirin-la kha-ntuk tehi-p-e dukpa 't6hi-jaa uncle 'tshiring-DAT what-ADVZR do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q-GEN hardship great-COMP2

hatca-ran 'ha le-ken bet. 1PL.INCL-self aud.impact remain-NMLZ;CONJ AUX 'What kind of severe hardships uncle Chiring has experienced, looking at that we become astonished.'

\section*{17. Clause combining and sentence}

\subsection*{17.1 Adverbial clauses}

The following types of adverbial clauses that cannot be substituted by a single word, have been reported for the languages around the world: purpose, reason, circumstantial, simultaneous, conditional, concessive, substitutive, additive and absolutive. (Thompson, Sandra A, Longacre, Robert E. and Hwang, Shin Ja J. Adverbial clauses. in Shopen, Timothy ed. 2007. Language Typology and Syntactic Description Vol. II. Cambridge University Press:243). My intention in the current section is to describe the various adverbial clause types Lhomi has in my data.

\subsection*{17.1.1 Subordinate purpose clause}

Purpose clause marked by purpose clitic =tu
In Lhomi there are several types of adverbial clauses whose reading is 'for the purpose, to, for'. In the current type the purpose clause is nominalized but it is not an argument of the main verb. Rather it expresses the purpose relation to the main clause. In
section 17.3.1 the same clitic =tu marks an argument of the causative verb tsyt, therefore it is treated there as a complementizer.

Lhomi does not have an infinitive verb form as such but the purpose clitic marked verbs come very close to it. Cross-linguistically an infinitive is supposed to have been grammaticalized from purpose markers. (see Thompson, Sandra A, Longacre, Robert E. and Hwang, Shin Ja J. Adverbial clauses. in Shopen, Timothy ed. 2007. Language Typology and Syntactic Description Vol. II Cambridge University Press:252)
-The purpose relation is not highlighted in the current purpose clause type.
-The subject of the subordinate nominalized purpose clause and the main clause may or may not be co-referential. There is no single overt marker to signal the difference. -It is the purpose clitic =tu that marks the purpose of the main clause.
-Typically agentive verbs like 'to send, to go, to come' occur as main verbs.
Consider the following examples (the finite clause verb and the purpose clitic in the adverbial clause are underlined):
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 17.1 & gotta & пa-la & thi & tson=tu & 'lit-tsun. \\
\hline & 3SG & 1SG-DAT & knife & sell=PURP & arrive-PST.EXP \\
\hline & 'He ca & me to sell & me a k & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \multirow[t]{3}{*}{17.2} & pempu & daku-la & guk=tu & tshøn-son. \\
\hline & headman & friend-DAT & wait=PURP & come[HON]-PST.VIS \\
\hline & \multicolumn{4}{|l|}{'The headman came in order to wait for a friend.'} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
17.3 sijka-la ta=tu 'phim-pen. (TE4)
field-DAT look.at=PURP go.come[PST]-1PST
'I went to have a look at (my) field.'

\section*{17.4 bak toøt=tu ton. (TE6)}
bamboo cut=PURP send;vbzr[IMP]
'Send (them) to cut bamboos!'
Speaker commands someone else to send workmen to cut bamboo.Subjects are not co-referential.

\section*{17.5 gomuy '6ak=tu duy '6ak=tu gomun 60k=tu}
short.plank split=PURP long.plank split=PURP short.plank adjust=PURP
dun \(\boldsymbol{6 0 k}=\mathbf{t u}\) taj-en. (TE4)
long.plank adjust=PURP send;vbzr-1PST
'I sent (the workmen) to shape short planks, to shape long planks, to adjust the short ones, to adjust the long planks.'

There are several juxtaposed adverbial clauses which are in paratactic relation to each other. It is the purpose clitic =tu which marks each of them.

\section*{Purpose clause marked by SBJV -t6e and DAT -la}

Typically this subordinate purpose clause is more prominent than the main clause. The meaning in English is 'for the purpose to, for the purpose of, for, in order to'.

In the table 17.1 I have summarised all grammatical markings that mark the subordinate clause as purpose clause. -tre-la, subjunctive+dative case is typical but also postpositions occur. The examples below from collected texts illustrate some of them. All purpose clauses in this section are NPs (nominalized clauses).

The example 17.6 is from a story which describes various responsibilities of assistant leaders in the village. There are three of them and they take turns to collect various fees from the villagers each year. The finite clause is a benefactive construction. They do it for the benefit of others.

The following examples illustrate this subordinate purpose clause:
\(17.6 \begin{array}{lll}\text { hi-ni } & \text { u-ko } & \\ \text { this-ABL } & \text { dyt-tse-la } \\ & \text { that-head } \\ \text { collect-SBJV-DAT }\end{array}\)
mino di-pa lo rii rii-la
ass.leader DEF-HUM1 year each each-DAT
paalo paalo gir-na tshi-na tik-ken bet. (TE36)
turn turn walk.around-NFNT1 do;vbzr-NFNT1 give-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'For the purpose of collecting that (fee) the assistant leaders take turns each year.
```

17.7 \eta-e=ra\eta 'khattsa\eta pupu 'so-tge-la
1SG-ERG=FOC couple.weeks.ago Pupu placate-SBJV-DAT
dyt-mu tøt sik-kin sik-kin 'khit khajet khanta-la
collect-F1 give[IMP] say-NMLZ say-NMLZ 2PL plural what-DAT
dyt-mu 'mit-tøk-ken? (TE46)
collect-FEM1 NEG-give-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
`Couple of weeks ago I was telling you repeatedly: "Give contribution for the purpose
to placate Pupu!" Why don't you give it?

```

This is from a story in which the village leader reprimands the villagers who have neglected to bring in their contribution to have a communal ritual of placating Pupu.

\section*{Purpose clause marked by SBJV -tse and yøp-pa-la}

\section*{17.8 attcet 'khe-paa-la}
little.bit skill-COMP2-DAT
dinaa NAME sik-ken-ki
'thøn 'tshuu-tяe iøp-pa-la
come be.able-SBJV EXIST-NMLZ;Q-DAT
kalets toik-la doo-pa bet. (TE74)
Dinah Name call-NMLZ;CONJ-GEN college INDF-DAT study-NMLZ;Q AUX
'In order that Dinah would be able to come out a bit more skilled than others, she has studied in a college which is called Name.'

This purpose clause type does not have any other grammatical marker except negative prefix to mark it as negated purpose. Negated illustration 17.8 would be ...'tshuutse mip-pa-la... Or ...'tshuu-tse mip-pe thikla...

\section*{Purpose clause marked by NMLZ;Q-GEN, -p-e and Thik-la (postposition)}

\section*{17.9 u-ni u-p-e phumu di 'thok 'tshuu-p-e}
that-ABL that-HUM1-ERG girl DEF take.by.force be.able-NMLZ;Q-GEN
thik-la 'thup-tsøt bern-ken bet. (TE65)
purpose-DAT protect-amount strike-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Then (family members) beat them for the purpose to defend and be able to take back their daughter by force.'

This is from a story that tells about marriage customs of Lhomis. They typically take the bride forcefully from her home and drag her away. Her family members pretend to resist this on the spot. In reality they have to consent and let her go. The purpose clause is nominalized and it becomes a complement of the postposition thik-la.

\section*{Table 17.1 Summary of purpose-means grammatical markings and inter-clause relations}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline Purpose markings on non-final verb & Inter-clause relation \\
\hline -tse-la & PURPOSE-means \\
\hline -tse jøp-pa-la, -tce mip-pa-la & PURPOSE-means \\
\hline -tse-ki thik-la & PURPOSE-means \\
\hline -tse-ki thøl-la & PURPOSE-means \\
\hline -p-e thik-la & PURPOSE-means \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{17.1.2 Subordinate conditional clause}

\section*{Condition -- consequence}

It is the nonfinite verbal suffix -na NFNT1 which marks a conditional subordinate clause. This verbal suffix NFNT1 never nominalizes a verb. It is interesting that the same suffix also marks serial verb constructions, manner and means relations see chapter 17.2. 2-4. When it marks the conditional clause the subject may or may not be co-referential with the subject of the main (consequence) clause. There is no single grammatical marker that tells whether the subject changes or not.
17.10 hi-ni missir khajet 'thuk-pa '6or-na
that-ABL people plural quarrel-HUM1 break.out-NFNT1
gem-pu teaa-la 'thim su=tu do-ken bet. (TE33)
responsibility-M1 at-DAT law request=PURP go-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'If a quarrel breaks out among the people, they go to gembu to sue (someone).'
In this example the speaker describes what the legal procedures were in the village long time ago. Speaker is telling about various responsibilities of a gembu in this section of the text. One of them is to act as a judge in legal cases. This is not a serial same-subject chain. It is the consequence which is more prominent than the condition.

Speaker also may stipulate the condition for the head to be materialized. It is only if the stipulated condition is fulfilled that the head materializes. Consider the following one:
\begin{tabular}{llll}
17.11 & ni & \begin{tabular}{l} 
hi-ko \\
this-head
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
'noksam \\
\end{tabular}
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{llll} 
hanten-ki & 'thim hi-ko & ga-a & bet. \\
current-GEN & law & (TE33)
\end{tabular}
'If one reasons, this current administrative system is better (than the old one).
\[
\text { CL-na NFNT1 } \quad \text { CL gaa bet HEAD }
\]

The implication is that if one is not able to reason in his mind the current administrative system may not look so good. But if he really ponders, he will understand that the current one is better.
```

17.12 u-ki 'ha khoo-na na
that-ERG aud.impact hear;understand[PST]-NFNT1 RSPNS
'jon-la 'mat-6øt tshi.
other-DAT NEG-tell[IMP] do;vbzr[IMP]
'If he has heard (all this), then tell him: "Do not tell others!"

```

In this example the speaker wants to make sure that a secret plan does not spread to any outsider. There is a neighbour who just might have heard what the speaker with his friends have been planning secretly. At the time of this speech act the speaker does not know if the neighbour has heard it or not and he gives this instruction to one of the participants.

\subsection*{17.13 roo-ki uko tøk-køt-na 'ni lin.}

3SG-ERG that give-PROG;EXP-NFNT1 DM take[IMP]
'If he gives it, take it!
Time reference in this one is future. Speaker must have some hints that the third person is in process of giving something to the hearer. The direct experience progressive marker -køt loses its evidential value when used in non-final position but it still marks the progressive aspect. It would be more natural for Lhomis to use direct speech rather than this kind of construction, e.g. ...tøk-ken sin-na 'ni lin 'If he says: "I give it to you," then take it!'

\subsection*{17.14 tcalak u-ko roo-la gø-kuk-na \(\quad\) cok-loj.}
thing that-head 3SG-DAT need.to-PROG;VIS-NFNT1 leave[IMP]-PUNC 'If he needs the thing, leave it with him right away!'
Speaker is asking someone to take back a tool which he has borrowed but he does not know if the third person needs it.
17.15 'ni hi-ki thik-la raj-la mi-i tam thii-tsun-na
this-GEN about-DAT 2.SG-DAT man-ERG message ask-PST.EXP-NFNT1
'ni u-la hi-ko 'ani saymu-la gø-pa t6hur-son
DM that-DAT this-head aunt sangmu-DAT be.needed-NMLZ.Q become-PST.VIS
sin-na '6øt-tsit.
say-NFNT1 tell-IMP2
'If someone asks you about this thing, tell him:"Aunt Sangmu needs it."

Speaker instructs someone to go and borrow a tool from someone who may ask about it. In that case the question would be directed to the hearer who is supposed to give this answer. The non-finite verb is marked for direct experience - tcuy. In this illustration the experience marker does not lose its evidential value. In chapters 13.1-13.2 I have talked about evidentiality in finite verbs where these markings typically occur in Lhomi.

\section*{Hypothetical condition}

\subsection*{17.16 gotta jun-køt-na}
ŋа do-ken.
3SG come-PROG;EXP-NFNT1 1SG go-NMLZ;CONJ
'If he comes, I will go.'
Subjects are not co-referential therefore personal pronouns have to be added in both clauses.

\section*{Counterfactual condition}

\subsection*{17.17 phits-e 'ama day 'lip-a hin-na \\ child-GEN mother yesterday arrive-NMLZ;Q AUX-NFNT1}
ŋa ran tsel-la jun-ken bet.
1SG 2SG at-DAT come-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Had the mother of the child arrived yesterday I would have come to you.'
This is interesting! The conditional clause is marked for past but the main clause is marked for nonpast. Typically it is the main clause that determines the tense of the whole sentence. Besides the 1. person is not marked in the finite verb. Lhomi does not have anything which is equivalent to English 'would' and to use past tense in the main clause would make it perfective, something that has happened, a reality. It is the time adverb 'yesterday' which determines the tense and the whole sentence is unreal (IRR).

Consider the same illustration when both clauses are negated:
\(\begin{array}{ll}17.18 & \text { phits-e 'ama dan 'mat-lip-a } \\ \text { child-GEN mother yesterday NEG-arrive-NMLZ;Q } & \text { hin-na } \\ \text { AUX-NFNT1 }\end{array}\)
ŋа saar-la mit-do-ken bet. Or:.. mit-do-ken hin.
1SG city-DAT NEG-go-NMLZ;CONJ AUX NEG-go-NMLZ;CONJ COP.EXP 'Had the mother of the child not arrived yesterday I would not have gone to town.'
Or: 'Had the mother of the child not arrived yesterday I would not have been the one who went to town.'

The final clause takes its tense from the non-final one. I am told that the better option is the latter one which is a headless relative clause, ...mit-do-ken hin. The person is marked in the copula but it is also overtly stated ( \(\mathbf{\eta} \mathbf{a}\) ). Both options are acceptable. This is also IRR.

Negative conditional
The following examples illustrate negated conditional clause:
17.19 hi-ni jay u-ki gem-pu di-ki
this-ABL CONTR2 that-GEN responsibility-M1 DEF-ERG
u-ki 'thim di toøt 'mat-tshuu-na jap
that-GEN law DEF cut NEG[PST]-be.able[PST]-NFNT1 CONTR2
go-paa t6aa-la t6ø-ken bet gem-pu di-ki. (TE33)
head-HUM2 at-DAT accompany-NMLZ;CONJ AUX responsibility-M1 DEF-ERG
'If Gembu has not been able to judge the legal case, he in fact takes the man to Goba.'

This example tells about the old village administration. In those days Goba used to be the title for the areal headman. This sentence refers back to preceding clauses in the text and takes up the possibility that the lower ranking village headman called Gembu is not able to judge a legal case but has to refer it to the areal headman. The non-finite verbal suffix is -na and the subjects are co-referential. It is the negative prefix that actually marks the conditional clause as past (English perfect).
17.20 ŋа 'ni hi-ntuk t6hi-pa '6yli mit-tshit.

1SG DM this-ADVZR do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q at.all NEG-do;vbzr[NPST]
'khit-ran tohi-na tohit.
2PL-self do;vbzr-NFNT1 do;vbzr[IMP]
mat-tshi-na mat-tshit.
NEG-do;vbzr-NFNT1 NEG-do;vbzr[IMP]
ךа 'ni mit-t6hit. (TE58)
1SG DM NEG-do;vbzr[NPST]
'I do not follow at all that kind of customs. If you do, do it! If you don't, don't do it! As for me, I don't.'

Or:'I do not keep that kind of customs. If you keep (the old customs), keep them! If you don't, don't keep! As for me, I don't.'

Speaker is arguing and defending himself in a village court against accusations of not keeping the old traditions.
17.21 keri mit-na 'ni
leader.sheep NEG.EXIST-NFNT1 DM
luk tsas-sa-la 'thik 'mit-tshuu-ken bet. (TE30)
sheep grass-ground-DAT lead NEG-be.able-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'If (you) have no leader sheep, (you) cannot take the sheep to the pasture.'
In this example the marker -na signals the consequence following the actualization of the condition. Both are negated.

\section*{Same subject conditional clause}

In chapter 17.2 I will discuss serial verbs. In this current section so far I have been talking about conditional subordinate clauses which form a sub-set of adverbial clauses. It so happens that the serial medial verbs (con-verbs) and conditional non-final clauses are marked with the same verbal suffix -na. A Grammar of Kham also talks about serial
chaining and switch reference, (see Watters David E. 2002. A Grammar of Kham, Cambridge University Press:322).

It is obvious that the subject of a conditional clause may or may not be the same as the subject of the main clause. When the subjects are co-referential the non-finite clause may be either a conditional one or a medial clause. In other words Lhomi does not have any single grammatical marker that would indicate if a non-finite clause is a conditional or a medial clause of a chain. I use the same morpheme gloss for both (NFNT1). The concession clauses are marked differently as we can see a bit later in this chapter.

Next examples 17.22-24 illustrate how the language handles this problem:
```

17.22 ra\eta pakka-la 'mit-thøn-na ya 'okma-la 'thakpa taa-na
2SG outside-DAT NEG-come.out-NFNT1 1SG neck-DAT rope tie.up-NFNT1
'si do-ken sin-na 'uu 'thakpa taa-pa bet
die go-NMLZ;CONJ say-NFNT1 frustr. rope tie.up-NMLZ;Q AUX
'okma di-la. (TE21)
neck DEF-DAT

```
'"If you do not come outside, I am going to tie a rope around my neck and die." he said and tied a rope around his neck.' '

The reference is actually to suicide. The subject of the first clause is clearly marked by using personal pronoun ran. Next three clauses are same subject serial clauses. No major problem with this example! In the second and third clause the subject remains the same but the first clause is clearly conditional, not a medial one. Personal pronouns mark the subject change in this illustration, ray....ŋa.... There is more about clause chaining in chapter 17.2.
17.23 rika di-la 'thik 'tshuu-na 'ni
forest DEF-DAT take be.able-NFNT1 DM
thyk-ken di-pa-la le 'Ihaa jur-ken bet. (TE65)
drag.along-NMLZ;CONJ DEF-PL2-DAT work easy come-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'If the ones who drag (her) along are able to take (her) to a forest, it will be easier work for them.'

This is about forcefully taking a wife in Lhomi country. Subjects are co-referential, those who drag along the girl. The development marker 'ni never occurs with the medial verbs therefore it is a clear signal that this is a conditional clause.
17.24 do 'thet-na do bern-ken bet.
rock meet-NFNT1 rock strike-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'sin 'thet-na 'sin bern-ken bet.
piece.of.wood meet-NFNT1 piece.of.wood strike-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
jari-ki thi pik-na jur-ken bet. (TE65)
some-ERG knife unsheath-NFNT1 come-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
IIf (they) find a rock they will throw the rock (at them).
If (they) find a piece of wood they beat with it.
Some unsheath the knife and come.'

In these clauses all subjects are co-referential. They are the relatives of the girl whom others are trying to drag away from home for marriage. It is the semantics that helps here to realize that the first two non-final clauses are conditional and the last one is a medial one.

If the subjects are co-referential in a non-final clause and the main clause, then Lhomi syntax provides various ways that help the hearer to understand if it is a conditional clause or a medial clause of a chain. Here is a list of those hints which the hearer gets when there is no overt marking to distinguish medial clause from a conditional one:
1) Semantics of the subordinate clause.
2) When the development marker 'ni DM occurs it marks a conditional clause, never a medial clause.
3) Response marker na never occurs following a medial clause, e.g.17.12.
4) Verb type and its arguments in the subordinate clause.
5) Use of quotative (direct speech).
6) The whole cultural and linguistic context of the speech act.

\subsection*{17.1.3 Subordinate concessive clause}

The most common concessive subordinator in Lhomi is -na NFNT1 ak INCLN. There is another more rarely used subordinator which is -tean NFNT3 and it has the same grammatical meaning (examples 17.30-31).

In the next example it is the concession which is highlighted (trhe-na ak). The main clause is clearly unexpected.
\begin{tabular}{rlllll}
\(\mathbf{1 7 . 2 5}\) & mi-la & dyt & di & sin-na & jun-e \\
man-DAT & demon & DEF & cling-NFNT1 & come-NMLZ;Q-GEN time-DAT
\end{tabular}
hatca-ray-ki jii-pa khanta ak
1PL.INCL-self-ERG go.wrong-NMLZ;Q what INCLN
mat-tche-na ak nak kop-ken bet. (TE62)
NEG-do;vbzr-NFNT1 INCLN crime accuse-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'At the time when the evil demon comes and possesses a man, it accuses us of crimes even though we have done nothing wrong.'

\section*{Indefinite concession}

\subsection*{17.26 dzaa-pu-la 'suttsana taj-ni}
king-M1-DAT
hint send;vbzr-NFNT2
dzaa-p-Y khanta hin-na ak '60k
king-M1-ERG what COP-NFNT1 INCLN come[IMP]
sin-na u-na løn taj-a bet. (TE21)
say-NFNT1 that-IN message send;vbzr-NMLZ;Q AUX
'After (they) had sent a hint to the king, he sent back a message saying:"Come here whatever the circumstances are!" ' Or:'...make sure you come!'

This example is from a story where the king invites a lama to come and help with his lamaistic rituals to get a son. The concessive reading is underlined and it means in this
example that the person should come 'whatever the circumstances might be', 'whatever the case' or 'no excuses would be acceptable'.

The illustration 2.44 provides another example of indefinite concession.

\section*{Counter-expectation concession}

\subsection*{17.27 gotta 'thik=tu jun-na ak ja gotta-tan mit-do. \\ 3SG fetch=PURP come-NFNT1 INCLN 1SG 3SG-COM NEG-go[NPST] \\ 'Even if he comes to fetch me I will not go with him.'}

The subjects are not coreferential and therefore the personal pronouns occur in both clauses.

\subsection*{17.28 ŋa-la pajisak 'thop-na 'ak}

1SG-DAT money receive-NFNT1 INCLN
ŋa 'nama ta 'mit-thik.
1SG wife EMPHP NEG-fetch[NPST]
'Even if I get money I will not take a wife.'
Speaker is responding to someone who has suggested that he should take a wife when he earns some money.

\section*{Definite concessive -NFNT1 INCLN}

The next example further illustrates the definite concession. Relevant markers are underlined:
```

17.29 pin khay se-na ak '6yli mit-day-ken bet
day one eat-NFNT1 INCLN at.all NEG-become.filled-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
luk ma di=raj. (TE30)
sheep CONTR1 DEF=FOC

```
'In fact even if/even though a sheep eats whole day it does not become satisfied at all.' Or: 'Inspite of the fact that it eats grass whole day it actually does not become satisfied.'

This is from a text that tells about sheep raising. When eating good grass some sheep never have enough even though they may eat all day. The contrastive (CONTR1) particle in the end highlights the main clause.

\section*{Concessive subordinator -tcang}

This concessive subordinator is used rarely. Consider the following two examples:

\section*{\(17.30 \mathbf{~ m i}\) kurik-ki dikpa tohi-ni kurik-la dikpa jøk-ken}
man all-ERG sin do;vbzr-NFNT2 all-DAT sins EXIST-NMLZ;CONJ
tohi-ni juu-kay-tu mi 'bi-na kha-ni mit-t6an
do;vbzr-NFNT2 village-house-LOC man die-NFNT1 where-ABL NEG.EXIST-NFNT3
'lama 'thik-ken bet. (TE51)
lama fetch-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Because all men have committed sins, all men have sins, therefore if a man dies (they) fetch a lama wherever he is. (Lit. ...from wherever he would not be)'

This suffix -tcan which marks the concessive relation in non-final clauses combines only with existentials and copulas. The other concessive marker -na ak NFNT1 INCLN may combine with all types of verbs.
17.31 ket di toikpa jøt-ţan iki di
sound DEF same EXIST-NFNT3 written.form DEF
rajsa ra引sa thi-ken bet. (TE91)
different different write-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Though the sound is the same, (we) write them different.'
This refers to some words of the Devanagri orthography of Lhomi.

\subsection*{17.1.4 Subordinate substitutive clause}

Lhomi has a particle boora which marks the substitutive relation like English words 'instead' and 'rather'. This same marker marks the substitutive relation also across sentences or higher syntactic units, see section 17.4.
\(\begin{array}{ccccc}17.32 & \text { ni gomp-y } & \text { lempu-la 'tohe } & \text { gotta-la } & \text { ta } \\ & \text { gombu-ERG reply-DAT } & \text { DETERM } & \text { 3SG-DAT } & \text { EMPHP one.paise.coin }\end{array}\)
'heksora tsik 'ik 'mit-tsuk gotta-la tsuk-pa-le ta
broken one INCLN NEG-plant 3SG-DAT plant-NMLZ;Q-COMP.BASIS EMPHP
boora maa-ni mal-la khokkaa 'khe-paa tsik-la
rather down.there-ABL down.there-DAT Nepali.man skill-COMP2 INDF-DAT
bin-na 'phasea-la tøn toj-ken sik-ken bet. (TE55)
give-NFNT1 hatred-DAT show IMMED-NMLZ;CONJ say-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Then Gompu replies: "I do not give him even a single broken one paise coin.I rather give my money to a smart Nepali of lowlands and show my anger."'

This example is from a story which describes an endless land dispute between two men. Arbitrators are at work and this is the answer which one of the men gives to them. He threatens to take the matter to court. The word used for a non-Lhomi man is derogatory.

\subsection*{17.1.5 Subordinate simultaneous clause}

Simultaneous clause marked by -kin
Subordinate simultaneous activity marker -kin (NMLZ) indicates that two kinds of activities are going on at the same time or two ongoing state of affairs co-occur. It is the simultaneity which is important here.

In this construction the suffix attaches to nonpast root of the verb and marks a subordinate clause. Typically also the main clause verb which is modified by the subordinate clause is an activity verb, but not always, e.g.17.40.

The clause marked by the subordinator -kin is a nominalized adverbial clause which may have almost any type of verb. The first example in the current section shows
that this is not a serial verb construction, subjects are not co-referential. Neither is it complementation because it is not an argument of the main verb.

Only the main clause may be negated. Next examples illustrate this adverbial clause (simultaneous activity markers are underlined and I have added also the verb types for both subordinate and main verbs):

R2-kin
ST2 main verb
17.33 't6heppa dzak-kin dzak-kin
rain vbzr-NMLZ vbzr-NMLZ
sempuŋ-nala juŋ-en. (TE3)
Sempung-ALL come-1PST
'I came around Sempung while it was raining.'

BR7-kin BR7 main verb
17.34 ha na 'ha khoo-kin khoo-kin
now RSPNS aud.impact hear;understand-NMLZ hear;understand-NMLZ hi-ntuk tohi-pa tohit 'mit-tshuu-pet tshi-pen. (TE58) this-ADVZR do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q do;vbzr NEG-be.able-INCH say-1PST 'I said: "While understanding it now, I am not able to do it anymore."'
BR7-kin
BR7 main verb
\(17.35 \mathrm{mi}-\mathrm{i} \quad\) 'thon-kin
man-ERG see-NMLZ
kynnak ku 's-Y 'rt 'mit-tshuu-ken bet. (TE63)
theft steal who-ERG INCLN NEG-be.able-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'While someone sees it, no one is able to steal.'
This statement is general knowledge everywhere.

T1-kin
17.36 lapkak-la tsa sa-kin
trail-DAT grass eat-NMLZ
'It (yak) does not stop for eating on trail.'
The implication is that when yak moves along, it does not stop even for eating on trail like sheeps do.

BR1-kin ST2 main verb
17.37 ŋа ki-la dzii-kin dziii-kin 'phim-pen.

1SG dog-DAT be.afraid-NMLZ be.afraid-NMLZ go.come[PST]-1PST
'I went and came back being all the time afraid of the dog.'
ST2-kin T1 main verb
17.38 thanpuu 'tha-ni 'sø-na jun-kin jun-kin
beginning end-ABL placate-NFNT1 come-NMLZ come-NMLZ
'khit khajet ha khanta-la 'mit-so-ken? (TE46)

2PL plural now what-DAT NEG-placate-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
'From the very beginning (we) have been placating Pupu, why do you not placate now?' Lit. 'From the very beginning we have lived placating all the time Pupu...

There is some overlay of cause in this subordinate -kin clause.

\section*{Subordinate simultaneous clause marked by -kil-la}

This illustration further strengthens the analysis that -kin nominalizes the subordinate adverbial clause which is not a complement but rather modifies the main clause. The only difference between this one and the illustrations 17.33-38 is that the adverbial clause is perhaps less topicalized in this one.
\begin{tabular}{ccccc}
17.39 & ni \(\quad\) tsiki tsik-pu 'sim-la hi-ki tam hi-ki & thik-la \\
only alone-M1 mind-DAT this-GEN word this-GEN & about-DAT \\
'noksam ton-kil-la & 'phim-pen. (TE58) & \\
reasoning send;vbzr-NMLZ-DAT & go.come[PST]-1PST
\end{tabular}
'I walked alone and was thinking about it while going. Or: While I was thinking about it I walked alone.'

Something has happened in the village and the speaker reasons alone, trying to find a solution while he walks. Two activities are going on at the same time, one is physical and the other is mental. This is purely simultaneous activity without any causal overlay.

\section*{Subordinate simultaneous clause with an existential main verb}

The reading of this adverbial clause construction is actually continuative (or continuous) aspect. The subordinate clause expresses an ongoing activity. The activity is being carried out but it also ends though the end point is not overtly specified. Often progressive and continuative aspects are combined (see Givón, Talmy. 2001. Syntax, An introduction, Vol. I. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins:289). In Lhomi continuative and progressive aspects differ in that the former one has boundedness but the latter one does not, see section 14.3.2 about progressive aspect which is also treated under evidentiality in chapter 13.1.2.

This continuative aspect in Lhomi combines only with agentive verbs. Typically the meaning in English is: 'they are in the state of eating, they are eating, we are eating'.

Nonpast root of the activity verb is marked with simultaneous activity marker -kin NMLZ and the existential main verb (jøt or duk) with appropriate finite affixation. The existential is the main verb. The subordinate clause is nominalized. The following formula illustrates this grammatical construction:
V(nonpast root) -kin EXIST

Existential verbs are explained more thoroughly in section 13 on evidentials. Consider the following examples (aspect markers are underlined):

T1 verb
\begin{tabular}{lcll}
17.40 & nis-so & tuwa & sa-kin \\
1PL.EXCL-PL1 & porridge & eat-NMLZ & iøt. \\
& EXIST.EXP
\end{tabular}

Eating is still going on at the time of the speech act. Someone may have called from outside and this is the response from inside.

T1 verb
17.41 \begin{tabular}{llll} 
roo-so 'phaa-na 'arak & 'thun-kin & iøk-ken \\
3SG-PL1 over.there-IN liquor & drink-NMLZ & EXIST-NMLZ;CONJ AUX \\
'They are out there drinking liquor.'
\end{tabular}
Speaker knows it and communicates this as a fact. This is assumption based on
general knowledge.

T1 verb,
17.42 'thaymu 'tohi-na 'tohø-kan di so-kin duk. (TE76)
'thangmu 't6hi-IN religion-house DEF build-NMLZ EXIST.VIS
'(They) are building the religious house in 'thangmu 'tshi.'
This is from a letter addressed to me. Writer has seen the activity on the spot and knows that it is going to go on for a while. This is an ongoing activity at the time of writing the letter. The activity goes on every day but is not habitual. It ends at a later time. The sensory observation of the writer entails that he passes potentially new information (but not totally unexpected) to the recipient of the letter. He has seen it but the recipient hasn't.

BT4 verb,
\begin{tabular}{lll}
17.43 phu toun-60 saamuel di & halo-ni \\
son young-SUP Samuel DEF & this.year-ABL \\
kilas tou-la dok-kin & iøt. (TE78) \\
class ten-DAT read-NMLZ & EXIST.EXP
\end{tabular}
'Youngest son Samuel from this year onwards is studying on the tenth class.'
Father is telling that his youngest son is studying for the final exam. This is an ongoing activity which also ends later. The existential is marked for direct experience because the writer is the father of the referent.

ST2 verb,
\begin{tabular}{lll}
17.44 na taksi-la & jun-kin & \(\underline{\text { iøt. (speaker phoning from a taxi) }}\) \\
1SG taxi-DAT come-NMLZ & \begin{tabular}{l} 
EXIST.EXP
\end{tabular} \\
'I am coming (to you) in a taxi. Or: \(\underline{I \text { am in }}\) in a taxi on my way (to your place).'
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{17.1.6 Subordinate durative activity marked by reduplicated verb root}

The following text tells about two siblings, brother and sister who had to run away from home after their mother had died and they just kept going and going. The verb root is repeated three times to communicate the idea of covering a long distance and also long time span. Their conversation and the activity of going are simultaneous. The verb 'phin'to go.come' is an eventive verb. Therefore the speaker reiterates it several times to give
the impression of durative activity. There is also serial chain here and the final verb is 'phin-ni which makes the clause subordinate to the main clause.
17.45 ni pyn 'pii-pu di thoppa too-p-e 'kha brother two-M1 DEF stomach feel.hungry-NMLZ;Q-INS mouth
kom-p-e 'phin 'phin 'phin-ni
become.dry-NMLZ;Q-INS go.come[PST] go.come go.come[PST]-NFNT2
hatsak-ki 'ama 'si-na 'khur-a bet.
1PL.INCL-GEN mother die-NFNT1 carry-NMLZ;Q AUX
nam 'thet-tse 'aa ...? (TE41)
when meet-SBJV SCAP
'After the brother and sister because of hunger and thirst had been going and going, finally they said: "Our mother has died. When do we meet her?"

\subsection*{17.46 ni 'phin 'phin 'phin-ni 'ni}
go.come[PST] go.come[PST]-NFNT2 DM
roo-so \(6 \varnothing\) m-paa 'lip-a bet. (TE41)
3SG-PL1 ride-COMP2 come-NMLZ;Q AUX
'After they had been going and going, they finally became young adults.'
The durative activity and growing up are simultaneous. They grew up on the way.

\subsection*{17.1.7 Subordinate adverbial clause marked by verbal suffix -ni}

Without causal overlay or time overlap
For temporal sequence English uses words like 'after, before' etc. Lhomi typically uses the suffix -ni, NFNT2 which is a non-finite verbal suffix. This verbal suffix may also mark causal relation to the main clause. I discuss that in the next section. Now I concentrate only on temporal sequence.

The following examples illustrate this adverbial clause (the non-finite verbal marker is underlined):
17.47 thopu doole di than khirik di le 'ok=tu 'phin-ni
friend monkey DEF and pheasant DEF work till=PURP go.come[PST]-NFNT2
jimmu jin khan 'oo-pa bet. (TE16)
day day one till-NMLZ;Q AUX
'After the bond friends monkey and pheasant went to do field work, they worked for a whole day.'

This example has purely temporal relation, an event followed by a span of activity without any overlap of time. First they go to a field then they work. This is from a narrative in which typically the finite verbs are marked in past tense.
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
17.48 & hi-ni & gem-pu & di-ki & missir di-ki
\end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} 
lak-ni \\
this-ABL \\
responsibility-M1 \\
DEF-ERG
\end{tabular} people DEF-GEN hand-ABL
\(\begin{array}{lll}\text { 'sarkar-la } & \text { tøk-ken } & \text { bet. } \\ \text { government-DAT } & \text { give-NMLZ;CONJ } & \text { AUX }\end{array}\)
'After the village leader has collected the taxes from the people, he hands the tax money over to the government.'

This example is a generic statement of how the village leader collects taxes and then hands the money over to the government officials, a span of activity followed by an event.
17.49 sempun-nala t6hi-ni makpa 'khalun-nala 'khaa teat 'thiri duk. (TE3)
sempung-ALL do;vbzr-NFNT2 makpa 'khalung-ALL snow white bright EXIST.VIS
'Having arrived in Sempung area there was white snow in Makpa Khalung.'
Speaker tells that when he arrived in Sempung area he saw snow on the other side of the river. There is no overlap of time.

The next one has two consecutive spans of activities without any time overlap:
```

17.50 u-pa 'tshu-tsøt tcik '60 dzap-ni
that-PL2 water-time one gamble vbzr-NFNT2
u-ni 'tshu-tsøt tcik taatsa tsi-soj.
that-ABL water-time one cards play-PST.VIS
'Having gambled with dice for an hour they then played cards for an hour.'

```

The next example has two consecutive events without any time overlap:
17.51 gott-e u-la 'tshu 'thun-t6e-ma tsik bin-ni

3SG-ERG that-DAT water drink-SBJV-F2 INDF give-NFNT2
u-ki 'thur-son.
that-ERG drink-PST.VIS
'Having given that man something to drink he (that man) drank.'
The non-final verb has no marking to indicate that the agent/subject changes therefore it must be indicated with the pronoun uki.

\section*{Subordinate temporal sequence with causal overlay}

It is not always perfectly clear if the sequence is purely temporal one or if there is an overlay of reason in relation to the main clause. When there is a causal overlay it is never highly prominent. Consider the following:
17.52 le man thaa-ni ton 'tshup-moj. (TE13)
work a.lot become-NFNT2 send;vbzr be.able-NEG.PST.EXP
'The work load became too much, therefore I could not send (the letter).'
```

17.53 ni 'ama di 'si gø '6ar-a bet.
mother DEF die needed.to start-NMLZ;Q AUX
phits-e da-la 'ni '6i-ni
child-GEN with-DAT DM die-NFNT2

```
rekket 'ama di tij-laa
goat mother DEF after-ADVZR
dzaa-p-r phu-mu-la kii-pa bet. (TE21)
king-M1-GEN daughter-DAT be.born-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Mother (goat) had to die. Since she had died with the child, she was later born as a princess.'

The heroic act of the mountain goat mother was rewarded in the next incarnation and she was born as a human princess. This is both time sequence and causal.
17.54 'tcheppa dzap-ni pha-la tsa tir 'thuk-mon. (TE3)
rain vbzr-NFNT2 cow-DAT grass give be.able-NEG.PST.EXP
'Because it rained I was not able to give any grass to cows.
17.55 khirik 'sekket '6or-ni 'mik jun-tse di
pheasant laughter burst.out-NFNT2 eye come-SBJV DEF
thøn di hi-ko bet. (TE16)
reason DEF this-head COP
'The reason for it's eyes becoming (red) is because it burst out laughing.'
The pheasant was laughing at the monkey who burned his buttock on a hot frying pan.

\subsection*{17.1.8 Subordinate reason clause marked by tohi-ni}

When the subordinate clause is marked by trhi-ni it makes the reason clause more prominent than the result/consequence (main) clause.
17.56 ni ma di hi-ki gen di 'phurpu 'antsuk-ki

CONTR1 DEF this-GEN responsibility DEF 'phurpu 'angtcuk-ERG
'khur-na tehi-ni ja-la gesa 'tohimmu tohuy. (TE13)
carry-NFNT1 do;vbzr-NFNT2 1SG-DAT joy great become[PST]
'Because Phurpu Angt6uk actually would carry the reponsibility of that, I got really happy.'


It is the reason which is highlighted in this example. The first non-final clause se-ni ties this new sentence to the preceding one (sentence relator) where eating already happened. The underlined two verbs form a serial chaining (in square brackets) and tohi\(\mathbf{n i}\) is the chain final verb and it marks the chain as prominent reason for the main clause (result) that follows. There is more about serial verbs in 17.2
17.58 'thempaa tshi-ni u-ko roy-la ak 'phin-na cross.breed do;vbzr-NFNT2 that-head lowland-DAT INCLN go.come[PST]-NFNT1 'ak khanta ak mit-tshik-ken bet. (TE32) INCLN what INCLN NEG-do;vbzr-NMLZ;CONJ AUX 'Even if (dzo) goes to lowlands nothing happens to it, because it is a crossbreed.' Or:' Because it is a crossbreed, nothing happens to it even if it goes to lowlands.'

This example is about a domestic animal called dzo, a crossbreed of yak and cow. It is a good animal because it adjusts both to lowlands and highlands.

\subsection*{17.59 mi kurik-ki dikpa tshi-ni kurik-la dikpa jøk-ken}
man all-ERG sin do;vbzr-NFNT2 all-DAT sins EXIST-NMLZ;CONJ
tshi-ni juu-kay-tu mi 'si-na kha-ni mit-tean
do;vbzr-NFNT2 village-house-LOC man die-NFNT1 where-ABL NEG.EXIST-NFNT3
'lama 'thik-ken bet. (TE51)
lama fetch-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Because all men have committed sins, all men have sins, therefore if a man dies in the village they fetch a lama wherever he is. (Lit. ...from wherever he is not).'

The story describes the lamaism in Lhomi area. It is extremely important to have a lama to perform the post-mortem rites.

\subsection*{17.1.9 Subordinate reason clause marked by NMLZ -pa and INS case}

When the subordinate clause is nominalized by -pal-jal-a (object nominalizer) and the \(\mathrm{NP}(\mathrm{CL})\) is in instrumental case, it highlights the reason clause. Consider the following:
\begin{tabular}{lllllll}
17.60 & 'ama & di & phitsa-la & 'nin & 'tsha-j-e & \\
mother & DEF & child-DAT & heart & feel.hot-NMLZ;Q-INS & DM \\
'ama & di & 'si & gø & 'sar-a & bet. & (TE21) \\
mother & DEF & die have.to & start-NMLZ;Q & AUX &
\end{tabular}
'It was because the mother felt compassion towards the child, that she had to die.' Or: 'Mother had to die because she had been compassionate towards the child.'

Mother goat is the hero and this statement brings that out. Feeling compassion is an unvolitional BR1 verb. This verb is nominalized and instrumental case marker added. In Buddhism compassion is a merit.
17.61 ŋа 'ni too-p-e

1SG DM become.hungry-NMLZ;Q-INS die-INCH
'As for me, I am about to die, because I am so hungry.'

Subordinate reason clause further highlighted by exclusive 'only'
17.62 tsik-le tsik dzim-paa tsik-le trik 'tıhi-jaa
one-COMP.BASIS one smart-COMP2 one-COMP.BASIS one great-COMP2
'thøn-tse 'nø-p-e 'sim di mentaa mip-p-e
turn.out-SBJV think-NMLZ;Q-GEN mind DEF only NEG.EXIST-NMLZ;Q-INS
'khit khajet kha-ntuk t6hi-na
2PL plural what-ADVZR do;vbzr-NFNT1
't6hi-jaa-la 'thøŋ-ken? (TE46)
great-COMP2-DAT turn.out-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
'How do you all ever become really great because you only have the inner desire to become smarter than the other person among you?'

\subsection*{17.1.10 Subordinate negated reason clause marked by NMLZ -pa, genitive case and 'tshittu}

This highlighted reason clause is always negated and nominalized by NMLZ;Q -pa. Though the construction looks like a relative clause it is actually a NP complement marked in genitive case. The noun 'tshittu is added to be the head of the NP. This construction puts more focus on the reason clause than any other construction in this section but it is somewhat archaic, rarely used and occurs only in negated reason clauses.
\begin{tabular}{llll}
17.63 u-ko mat-jur-e & 'tohittu & y-e hi-ko tohi-pen. \\
that-head NEG-come-NMLZ;Q-GEN & reason & 1SG-ERG this-head do;vbzr-1PST \\
'Because he did not come I did this.'
\end{tabular}
17.64 pajisak mip-p-e \(\quad\) 'tchittu
money NEG.EXIST-NMLZ;Q-GEN reason
n-e
'Because I I had no money I sold a field.'
Or:'I sold this field because I had no money.'
17.65 yuu 'mit-sii-p-e 'tshittu roo-ki u-ntuk tshi-pa bet.
face NEG-know-NMLZ;Q-GEN reason 3SG-ERG that-ADVZR do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q AUX 'Because he does not know you, he said that way.'

\subsection*{17.1.11 Subordinate reason clause marked by NMLZ -pa and DAT case}

This is another way a non-final clause may be marked for reason which has resulted from a previous action or an event. Everything that follows the reason clause is the consequence which may consist of one or more clauses.
17.66 u-ntuk tohi-na sun 'mat-tshuu-pa-la
that-ADVZR do-NFNT1 arrest NEG-be.able-NMLZ;Q-DAT
tij-laa tij-laa 'ak nuk tohi-na
after-ADVZR after-ADVZR INCLN that.way do-NFNT1
lemma 'pii 'sum u-ntuk tohi-na sun=tu 'phin-ni
time two three that-ADVZR do-NFNT1 arrest=PURP go.come[PST]-NFNT2
u-ni ik sun 'mat-tshuu-pa bet piipu-waa khajet. (TE34)
that-ABL INCLN arrest NEG-be.able-NMLZ;Q AUX Piipu-HUM2 plural
'Since/As they were not able to arrest the people of Piipu in that way, (the police) went later two or three times to arrest them, but were never able to arrest.'

\subsection*{17.67 gynnaa-la 'son-ni 'ni mi 'su 'uk mip-pa-la \\ winter.migration-DAT go-NFNT2 DM man who INCLN NEG.EXIST-NMLZ;Q-DAT gomp-e 'lama dzaap-Y 'sir-ku di tor-nar-a bet(TE31) \\ gomba-GEN lama dzaabu-GEN gold-idol DEF become.lost-COMPL-NMLZ;Q AUX \\ 'Since all people had migrated to south, while there was no one in the village, the golden idol of Gomba's Lama Jyaabu got lost.' \\ This is the setting for the whole narrative. The idol got lost while there was no one in the village. This is simultaneous relation with causal overlay.}

\subsection*{17.68 jamp-Y dzaap-Y 'tsha mat-gak-pa-la \\ Kathmandu-GEN king-ERG faith NEG-put-NMLZ;Q-DAT \\ 'miki-tu taala hok-suk-tu sak-ni \\ down.there-LOC storey under-enter-LOC put-NFNT2 \\ 'rintak daa-na taj-a bet lo. (TE18) \\ thread tie.up-NFNT1 send;vbzr-NMLZ;Q AUX DISCL}
'Since the king of Kathmandu did not trust the lama, he put up the lama in the basement floor and tied a thread to him.'

This example comes from a story in which the king puts a lama to a test to find out if he really has the abilities he claims to have. This is the first test.

'jon khanta ak 'ha mat-khoo-wa-la roo-ran-ki
other what INCLN aud.impact NEG-hear;understand-NMLZ;Q-DAT 3SG-self-GEN
theja di pik-na mo top-ken bet. (TE49)
rosary DEF pick.up-NFNT1 divination strike-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Having finished everything that there is to do, the shaman still does not understand and therefore he picks his rosary and divinates.'

In this example the shaman has failed and he does not really know what to do next.
The consequence is that he picks his rosary and divinates.

\subsection*{17.1.12 Subordinate temporal end point}

This adverbial clause is marked by the adverb 'thuk- which is the subordinator. The meaning of this adverb is 'until, till, as long as'. Typically the clause defines the temporal end point of the activity of the main clause. The verb root is reiterated and the subordinator marked in dative case -la.

This adverbial clause does not share the same subject with the main clause. The whole non-final clause is underlined:
\begin{tabular}{llll}
17.70 & nempet tsansun nim-e & thø & thø \\
tomorrow air & 'thuk-la \\
tsøn-INS & become.warm & become.warm until-DAT
\end{tabular}
```

tsøppuk gossum toward-DAT mouth NEG-show[IMP]
sin-na sok-ken bet. (TE49)
say-NFNT1 put-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
"'Do not turn your face towards Cøppuk Gossum until the sun warms the air tomorrow!", he tells.'
The speaker gives religious instructions to a client/patient who is supposed to obey this command until the sun begins to warm the air next day.

```
17.71 u-ki tam u-ko 'søk-ken tam jonma-a tsik
that-GEN message that-head kill-NMLZ;CONJ message other-COMP2 INDF nam 'thøn 'thøn 'thuk-la mi dzom-sa kha-tu uk when appear appear until-DAT man gather-ground what-LOC INCLN u-ki tam di mentaa mit-lap-ken bet. (TE51)
that-GEN message DEF only NEG-talk-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Until another topic which kills this one, comes, this topic is the only theme people talk about wherever they gather.'

There is also a headless relative clause which is produced by subject nominalization, 'søk-ken.

\subsection*{17.1.13 Subordinate temporal onset point}

The non-final temporal starting point is a nominalized clause that defines the temporal onset of the activity or state of the main clause. English meaning is 'from now onwards, from now on'. The structure is grammaticalized idiom and it is typically as follows:

\section*{ha hi-ni t6hi-pa di}

Another way to analyze this would be to regard it as an AP. ha is a time adverb meaning 'now', hi-ni means 'then', tshi-pa is the nominalized verb 'do,vbzr,' and di is the definite article. Occasionally the temporal adverb ha may be dropped but otherwise this is like an idiom. Consider the following illustrations (the adverbial clause under discussion is underlined):
```

17.72 ha hi-ni trhi-pa di 'khit-ray than \etaa 'mit-thek-ken
now this-ABL do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q DEF 2PL-self and 1SG NEG-meet-NMLZ;CONJ
bet. 'khit-ra\eta døk-ken bet. (TE28)
AUX 2PL-self stay-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'From now onwards you and I will not meet. You will stay. I will go ...'

```
Lit. 'From now what I have said...

A man is saying farewell to his relatives before the police in a moment will take him to prison. He has committed a murder.
\begin{tabular}{lllllll}
17.73 & ran-la & 'thop-e & 'tshikan-ki & khøykaa & dzenkaa & di \\
& 2SG-DAT & get-NMLZ;Q-GEN always-GEN good.clothing good.ornaments DEF \\
& hi-tsøt & toik=ran bek=o. & ha hi-ni & tohi-pa & di
\end{tabular}
this-amount one=FOC COP=NEW.INF now this-ABL do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q DEF
raj-la '6yli mit-noy-ken bek=o.
2SG-DAT at.all NEG-receive-NMLZ;CONJ AUX=NEW.INF
sa-ma hi-ko so-tsit 'thuy-t6it. (TE49)
eat-F2 this-head eat-IMP2 drink-IMP2
'The good clothing and ornaments which you have received is for ever this much. From now onwards you will get nothing of that at all. Eat this food and drink this beverage!' Lama is giving instructions to a dead soul. He is informing the dead soul about certain facts and finally requesting him to eat and drink last time.

\subsection*{17.74 'aku-rap harin-ni tshi-pa di ly than 'sim \\ uncle-self today-ABL do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q DEF body and mind}
jaa the 'tshar-a bek=o. (TE51)
apart be.separated fall.off-NMLZ;Q AUX=NEW.INF
'Uncle, from today onwards your body and soul have become completely separated.'

This shows that some variation is allowed for this non-final clause. Lama is addressing a dead man and giving instructions in post mortem rites.

\subsection*{17.1.14 Subordinate additive clause}

In the examples 17.75-76 it is the adverb 'trhuwak which is the subordinator. (see Thompson, Sandra A, Longacre, Robert E. and Hwang, Shin Ja J. Adverbial clauses. in Shopen, Timothy ed. 2007. Language Typology and Syntactic Description Vol. II. Cambridge University Press:264) It is the subordinator 'tøhuwak which makes the first clause subordinate. Otherwise the relation would be the same as I will talk about in section 17.5.1, namely contrastive clauses in paired relation. Like the example 17.76 shows there may be more than just one additive clause.
17.75 'khit-raj-ki don-ki tuwa-la

2PL-self-GEN face-GEN food-DAT
'tchuwak 'mat-ta-ja tak-ki ri-la tø. (TE46)
only NEG[IMP]-look[NPST]-NMLZ;Q back-GEN time-DAT look[IMP]
'Do not only look at the food in front of you but in addition look into the past!'
The idea is that in addition to looking ahead one has to look into the past, what has happened before and how one needs to conduct his life. Both verbs are in imperative. Because the imperative root cannot occur in nonfinite verbs the subordinate clause verb here does not have here the imperative root which would be tø-. It is the imperative negative prefix that marks the imperative in this nonfinite verb. The past root for this verb would be te- which could not be used here either because the main clause verb is in imperative.
\begin{tabular}{llll}
17.76 u-ki hatøa-ran-la & 'nøppa ton-a & 'tshuwak mem-pa \\
that-ERG & 1PL.INCL-self-DAT demon send,vbzr-NMLZ;Q only & NEG.COP-NMLZ;Q
\end{tabular}

\section*{hatca-ran mi khajet 'khamtsu dzak-tu tsyk-ken}

1PL.INCL-self man plural quarrel vbzr-PURP cause-NMLZ;CONJ
dun-ri dzak-tu tsyk-ken
beat-RECP vbzr-PURP cause-NMLZ;CONJ
'søt-ri dzak-tu tsyk-ken ... (TE48)
kill-RECP vbzr-PURP cause-NMLZ;CONJ
'It (the evil one) is one who not only sends demons (to bother) us but in addition makes us men to quarrel, makes us to beat each other, makes us to kill each other...'

\section*{Table 17.2 Summary of reason-result markings on non-subordinate clauses}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
\hline \begin{tabular}{l} 
Markings on \\
subordinate \\
clause verb
\end{tabular} & Operations on subordinate clause & \begin{tabular}{l} 
Relation to the main \\
clause
\end{tabular} \\
\hline -kin & -NMLZ & simultaneous activity \\
\hline -kil-la & -NMLZ-DAT string of suffixes on verb & simultaneous activity \\
\hline verb roots-ni & Reduplicated verb roots-ni & durative activity \\
\hline -ni & -NFNT2, suffix on verb & temporal with causal overlay \\
\hline -pa-la & -Object nominalizer-dative case & Causal overlay \\
\hline t6hi-ni & Subordinate clause verb + t6hi-ni & Reason ---result \\
\hline t6hi-ni & Subordinate clause verb root + t6hi-ni & Reason ---result \\
\hline verb roots t6hi-ni & Reduplicated verb roots + t6hi-ni & Reason ---result \\
\hline -p-e & -Object nominalizer-instrument case & Reason ---result \\
\hline NEG-V-p-e 't6hittu & Negated-object nominalizer-GEN 't6hittu & Reason---result \\
\hline 't6huwak & subordinator & additive \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{17.2 Serial verb constructions}

Lhomi has serial constructions, string of verbs which express consequtive events or serial activities. The medial verbs, as they are called, are marked with the non-finite verbal suffix -na (NFNT1) or they may be mere verb roots or the medial verb may be marked by dative case -la. All medial clauses in Lhomi have the same subject, tense, aspect and negativity. It is like a complex clause rather than a sentence. These are all features Givon talks about. (Givón, Talmy. 2001.Syntax, An introduction, Vol. II. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins. Pp.348-351).

The suffix -na has all kinds of other grammatical meanings in non-final clauses, e.g. conditional clause, but in medial clauses it only concatenates the medial verbs. This is the primary grammatical meaning of this suffix. There may be up to five or six medial verbs in a chain but typically only two or three. Tense and aspect of the medial verbs are marked in the finite verb. Subject remains the same throughout the chain.

It is when this same suffix -na is used to mark also non-finite conditional clause that the so called "switch reference system" comes into play. There is more about that in section 17.1 on adverbial clauses.

There are some motion verbs in Lhomi that typically occur in medial position but may occur as main verbs as well. It is the suffix -na that chains them to the finite verb. They are like verbal pairs e.g. lok-na 'lit- 'returning arrive', lok-na jun- 'returning come', 'luk-na sok- 'to put and keep', 'khur-na jun- 'carrying come' and jun-na døt 'come and stay'. Some refer to just one single event others to two consequtive events. David Watters reports this happening also in Kham (Watters David E. 2002. A Grammar of Kham. Cambridge University Press:325).

Lhomi qualifies for a clause chaining language. The relation of chain-medial and chain-final clauses seems to be one of co-subordination, (see A Grammar of Kham. Cambridge University Press:322).

Next example illustrates that it is the immediately following verb which governs the case markings of its arguments in chaining. In this example it is the medial verb ke-na which requires dative marked dativelobject. The final verb ton has here the sense 'to send'.

\subsection*{17.77 ŋа-raŋ-ki 'mat-thek-pa}

1SG-self-ERG NEG-be.able.carry-NMLZ;Q
dzentsel-la ke-na tan-en. (TE3)
dzentsen-DAT load-NFNT1 send;vbzr-1PST
'I myself wasn't able to carry (the load),but I put (the load) on Jenjen's (back) instead and sent him (on the way).'

\subsection*{17.2.1 Non-final temporal sequence}

Consequtive events marked by non-finite verbal suffix -na
The following examples illustrate serial constructions where up to three medial verbs may occur (both medial verbs and final verbs are underlined):
\begin{tabular}{llll}
17.78 & hi-ni & tuwa & 'iø-na \\
this-ABL & porridge & cook-NFNT1 & se-ton. (TE9) \\
& eat[PST]-1PL.HORT
\end{tabular}
'After this let us cook and eat!'
Cooking and eating are related activities but there is a clear temporal sequence. Subjects are co-referential.

\subsection*{17.79 too-let=te.}
grind-SCI=EMPH
taa-na jun-en. (TE9)
grind-NFNT1 come-1PST
'Go and grind it! I ground it and came.'
Someone else gives the command and the speaker goes to the water mill, grinds the kernels and comes back. The activities are clearly sequential but those two verbs form just one clause.

\subsection*{17.80 'jaa buktsaa 'jar-na jun 'tshar-en. (TE4)}
large.drum cymbals borrow[PST]-NFNT1 come fall.off-1PST
'I borrowed a large drum, cymbals and came.'
Speaker reports what he has been doing during that day. There is a clear temporal sequence in this example but short time span in between.

\section*{Temporal overlap}

In the next couple of examples the action of the medial verb is at least partly overlapping with the action of the main verb.

\subsection*{17.81 kittap di gam-la 'luk-na sak-tuk. \\ book DEF box-DAT put-NFNT1 keep-PRF.VIS}
'He has put and kept the book in the box.'
This is a single event. Someone has put the book in the box and left it there and the speaker finds it and makes this statement which is marked for perfect of results.

\subsection*{17.82 sijka-la te-ni lok-na jun-en. (TE3) \\ field-DAT look-NFNT2 return-NFNT1 come-1PST \\ 'After I had taken a look at my field, I returned and came. Or:..., returning I came.' \\ The chained clauses describe just one activity, returning home. The verbs are lexically related and both are motion verbs.}

\section*{Rapid consequtive events marked by past verb roots}

If the speaker wants to highlight the successive events he may drop the NFNT1 from the medial verbs and also leave the final verb without any suffixation, only past root. Obviously this only happens in narratives that use past tense. The following examples illustrate it:
17.83 hi-ni 'khim-la lok mi tan 'lana gar
this-ABL house-DAT return[PST] fire vbzr[PST] frying.pan put.on.fire[PST]
'lana di-ki 'thok-la dze-ni
frying.pan DEF-GEN on.top-DAT climb-NFNT2
gojak tsik tsarikla t6e. (TE16)
egg INDF lay[PST]
'She (pheasant) returned to the house, made fire, put the frying pan on fire, after having climbed on top of it she laid an egg.'

Pheasant prepares a lunch for herself and her monkey friend. The medial verbs in this example are mere past roots. Also the finite verb is past root. This is one of the ways a Lhomi speaker highlights the sequential actions when the climax of the story is approaching and the hero is the agent/subject like in this one. In the first sentence there are two medial verbs and the final verb gar which all are just verb roots. The final verb of the second sentence is also just past root tse. The medial verb is dze-ni which I will talk about later.
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
17.84 & hi-ni & mi & tan & 'lana \\
this-ABL & fire & send;vbzr[PST] & frying.pan & put.on.fire[PST] \\
'lana & di & 'mappu-la & 'son. (TE16) \\
frying.pan & DEF & red-DAT & go[PST]
\end{tabular}
'Then he (the monkey) made fire, put the frying pan on fire. The frying pan became red.'

The scope of the same subject covers the first two verbs. Therefore my analysis is that there is a sentence break after the second event. The first event is the medial clause and the second is the final. The third is a separate independent clause which gives important information for the forthcoming climax. Therefore the finite verb is highlighted and occurs without any suffixation.

\section*{Serial chaining with finite existential verb}

When a motion verb is chained to finite existential verb it produces a kind of periphrastic perfect like in the following example:

\subsection*{17.85 juukaj-la 'phin-ni \\ village-DAT go.come[PST]-NFNT2}
\begin{tabular}{llll} 
honta jit & jampu-la & 'lit-na & iøt. (TE76) \\
now & 1PL.EXCL & Kathmandu-DAT & arrive-NFNT1
\end{tabular}
'After visiting the village we have come back and are now in Kathmandu.' Or:
...having arrived we are here in Kathmandu.'
This is a setting for a letter. This serial construction is a kind of perfective aspect. Time of arrival has been left indefinite. If the speaker uses 'li-pen(1PST) as the final verb instead of this serial construction he would normally specify the time of arrival by using a time adverb. Besides it would not actually tell if the person is in Kathmandu or not, at the moment of writing.

Resultative perfect which is marked in the main verb by -tuk PRF.VIS combines only with third person referents. Naturally it cannot be used for a first or second person referent. The following examples are alternative ways for a Lhomi to use perfect of result for a third person referent:

\subsection*{17.86 gotta jampu-la 'lit-tuk. \\ 3SG Kathmandu-DAT arrive-PRF.VIS}
'He has arrived in Kathmandu.'
Speaker has seen him after his arrival but has not seen the event of arriving, (see more about that in chapter 13 on evidentials and on resultative perfect 14.3.4).
17.87 gotta jampu-la \(\frac{\text { 'lit-na }}{\text { 3SG Kathmandu-DAT }}\) arrive-NFNT1 \(\quad\) EXIST.VIS
'He has arrived and is in Kathmandu.' Or:'Having arrived he is in Kathmandu.'
Speaker has seen the man after he has arrived and he is in Kathmandu at the time
of this speech act.

\subsection*{17.88 gotta jampu-la 'lit-na bk-ken bet. \\ 3SG Kathmandu-DAT arrive-NFNT1 EXIST-NMLZ;CONJ AUX} 'He has arrived and is in Kathmandu.' Or: 'Having arrived he is in Kathmandu.' Speaker knows that the person has arrived and is in Kathmandu, general knowledge.

The example 17.86 focuses more on the arrival which speaker has not seen, only the outcome of it. Therefore his statement does not say much if the person is in Kathmandu or not at the time of this speech act. In 17.87-88 the speaker verifies that the person really is in Kathmandu because the existential is the finite verb.

\subsection*{17.89 nik-ki 'khimtsi 'lit jøt-to. \\ 1PL.EXCL-GEN neighbour arrive[PST] EXIST-PROB \\ 'Our neighbour may have arrived.'}

Speaker has no evidence but he infers that this may be the state of affairs. Arrival may have happened in the past. I believe that this is a grammaticalized form of the periphrastic perfect of 'lit-na jøt-to. Though the medial verb suffix has been dropped it is still periphrastic perfect like in 17.87-88

\subsection*{17.2.2 Non-final means--result relation}

So far the examples of serial chaining have been temporal sequences. Lhomi also has often an overlay of means-result relation in serial chaining.

The following examples illustrate same subject serial chaining:

\subsection*{17.90 'khim-la}
suu-na
house-DAT enter-NFNT1
nuk=ray 'thoo-na se ton-ken bet. (TE34)
that.way=FOC take.by.force-NFNT1 eat IMMED-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Entering houses they forcefully take food just like that and eat.'
In this story a group of bad characters used to harass and exploit the whole village. There are two medial clauses marked by the suffix - na and the final clause with appropriate finite suffixes. The relation is not purely temporal sequence but it has an overlay of means-result relation.

The following formula illustrates this serial chaining:
CL-na CL-na CL-final
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
17.91 & 'phin-ni & hassøt & tsajinpur-ni & polis \\
go.come[trn-na \\
g.]-NFNT2 & VIP & tsainpur-ABL & police & take.out-NFNT1
\end{tabular}
u-ni jal-la 'thik-na 'phim-pa bet. (TE34)
that-ABL up.there-DAT bring-NFNT1 go.come[PST]-NMLZ;Q AUX 'After (the relatives) had gone to Chainpur, they took some policemen (from the police station), brought them and went up to the village.'

This example is another same subject serial chain but there is also some overlay of means-result relation. The relatives of the victims (subject) sued those who had killed their
kin and went to get the police and brought the police to the crime scene. They could not go to the village on their own but only by means of taking the police with them.

The following summary illustrates the current example:
CL-ni (sentence relator) CL-na (medial) CL-na (medial) CL- pa bet (final)

\subsection*{17.2.3 Non-final manner relation}

The next examples illustrate how a same subject serial clause may have an overlay of manner relation. The antecedent of this manner clause is the whole section of the story preceding this clause. In other words this is a summary statement of what has preceded:
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 17.92 & hi-ntuk & tohi-na & lunp-e mi khajet \\
\hline & this-ADVZR & do;vbzr-NFNT1 & area-GEN man plural \\
\hline & mi-tsi & pik-ken & bet. (TE36) \\
\hline & man-life & conduct-NMLZ;CONJ & J AUX \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
'Doing this way the men of our area conduct their lives.' Or: 'In this manner the people of our area conduct their lives.'

The next example gives an interrogative manner clause, 'what manner' or 'in what way doing' or 'how'.
17.93 'khit khajet kha-ntuk tohi-na

2PL plural what-ADVZR do;vbzr-NFNT1
'tshi-jaa-la 'thør-ken? (TE46)
great-COMP2-DAT turn.out-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
'In what way will you become great/succesful?' Or: 'In what manner are you going to prosper?'
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
17.94 & hi-ni & hassøt & u-ni mal-la & da than su than \\
this-ABL & VIP & that-ABL down.there-DAT arrow and bow and \\
'khur-na & 'phim-pa & bet. (TE17) \\
carry-NFNT1 & go.come[PST]-NMLZ;Q AUX &
\end{tabular}
'Then he went carrying arrows and a bow.'
He was carrying all the time his weapons while he went. Time overlaps completely. This is also a good example of the manner relationship. He was fully armed while he was going.

\subsection*{17.2.4 Completive aspect in serial chaining}

Lhomi has at least two different ways to mark completive aspect. One way is to use aspectual verb 'tshar 'to fall off'. I have discussed that in chapter 15.4.3 on aspectual verbs.

Another way is to use the verb 'khur in serial construction. It is common in Lhomi that in a serial verb constructions like this the lexical content of the medial verb (con-verb) and the main verb is shared.

The lexical (medial) verb is a past root to which the NFNT1 -na is attached to. The aspect marking main verb 'khur gets all finite affixations except 1PST -pen. Lexically elsewhere this verb typically means 'to carry something somewhere'. In this construction it marks completion of the process or activity of the medial verb. In the text I have retained the original lexical meaning for the verb 'khur though it only marks completion in this construction. Consider the following examples (medial verbs with completive markers are underlined):

ST1 verb
\(\begin{array}{rll}17.95 & \text { papa } & \text { 'khim-la } \\ \text { father } & \text { lok-na } \\ \text { house-DAT }\end{array} \begin{aligned} & \text { return-NFNT }\end{aligned}\)
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
'khur-a & bet. \\
carry-NMLZ;Q & AUX
\end{tabular}
'Father returned home.'

T3 verb,
17.96 matar dzapa 'sum thyt-na 'khur-a bet si-kuk. (TE7)
car hundred three drag-NFNT1 carry-NMLZ;Q AUX say-PROG;VIS 'People say:It dragged along three hundred cars.'
This one is from a descriptive text telling about the great flooding of the Arun river. Completive aspect here enforces the huge power of the flood waters when the dam gave in. The waters dragged the vehicles from China all the way to lowland areas in Nepal. The verb thyt is a typical transitive verb, which normally has an animate agent. In the same way as I called example 14.12 a T3 verb I call also this one a T3 verb with instrument marked instrument (flood waters) and absolutive marked patient (cars).

BR6 verb,

\subsection*{17.97 'we 't6høtt6aŋ-ki si-na \\ SCA beer[HON]-INS get.drunk-NFNT1 \\ 'They have become totally drunk by beer.'}

\section*{'khur-tuk. (TE4)}
carry-PRF.VIS

The speaker observes that some men in the eating party have become completely drunk.

The following examples illustrate how the verb 'khur occasionally may be merged into a suffix which together with the auxiliary bet marks the completive aspect. This is no longer a serial verb construction. Both the longer form and the merged form may be used. The only difference between the longer form and the merged form is that the latter one does not take all the markers of finite verbs, only PRF.VIS (-tuk) and NMLZ;Q AUX (-pa bet) are allowed. It seems that the merged form is a convenient and shorter to use. Whenever they have to use certain evidential markers they would use the longer serial construction with 'khur as the main verb. The merger of this kind never happens with the aspectual verb 'tshar. I use the morpheme gloss COMPL only for the suffix (-nar-l-nat-) that marks the completive aspect in the merged form. When the resultative perfect marker (-tuk) follows the COMPL aspect marker, the assimilation of /r/ may or may not happen. The formula for this merger is as follows:
V (past root) -na 'khur-a bet
V (past root)-nar-a bet

The following examples 17.98-101 illustrate the verbs that may use either construction:

BR3 verb,

'As for the bottom becoming red, it got stuck on the hot frying pan.'
This is from a story which tells how monkey got his red bottom. The next example is from the same story and the merger is used in that one.

BR3 verb
17.99 doole di 'tham daa-nar-a bet. (TE16)
monkey DEF tightly get.stuck-COMPL-NMLZ;Q AUX 'The monkey got tightly stuck onto the hot frying pan.'
Monkey's bottom got stuck on a hot frying pan and this explains why it has red bottom.

R1 verb,
17.100 hassøt 'Ihamtø di '6ik-ni

VIP lachet DEF untie-NFNT2
mintsuŋ ŋøruk di gaŋi '6i-nar-a bet. (TE43)
mintєung ŋøruk DEF backwards die-COMPL-NMLZ;Q AUX
'After M. Ngøruk untied the lachet, he fell backwards and died.'
He had a fatal wound in his leg and when he untied the bandage he died of bleeding.

BR7 verb,
\begin{tabular}{llll}
17.101 hi-ni 'mikma & 'sunmara & di-ki & 'ha \\
this-ABL 'mikma & 'sungmara & DEF-ERG & aud.impact \\
khoo-nar-a & \multicolumn{5}{l}{ bet. (TE17) } & \\
hear-COMPL-NMLZ;Q AUX &
\end{tabular}
'It was then that Mikma Shungmara heard him coming.'
This example is from a story that tells how a man chases Mikma and finally he catches up with him and then Mikma hears a cracking sound which indicates that his enemy is right behind him. Only the merged form is used to mark the completive aspect of a perception verb like this.

What is the difference between the aspectual verb 'tshar and the main verb 'khur in serial construction? The former marks the completion of a process or activity. The latter refers to a telic event. This hypothesis still needs to be fully confirmed by some more analysis.

\section*{Table 17.3 Summary of completive aspect in serial verb constructions}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|l|}
\hline Con-verb & Main verb & Auxiliary & Suffixes it combines with \\
\hline V(past root)-na & \begin{tabular}{l} 
'khur-a \\
\\
\\
\\
'khur-son \\
'khur-tuk
\end{tabular} & bet & \begin{tabular}{l} 
NMLZ;Q AUX \\
PST.VIS \\
PRF.VIS
\end{tabular} \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l} 
V(past root)-nar-a \\
V(past root)-nar-tuk
\end{tabular} & & bet & \begin{tabular}{l} 
COMPL-NMLZ;Q AUX \\
COMPL-PRF.VIS
\end{tabular} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{17.2.5 Benefactive construction}

Lhomi has no benefactive case to mark the beneficiary. It is the serial verb construction which is used for benefactive/malefactive. The medial verb, marked as usual by -na, can be almost any volitional verb and the final verb is always the verb 'to give'. It is this final verb that governs the case marking of the subject and object arguments. When the benefactive construction is negated it is the latter verb that gets the prefix. There are no restrictions as to the inflection of the final verb.

Consider the following examples (benefactive constructions are underlined):
\begin{tabular}{rlllll}
\(\mathbf{1 7 . 1 0 2}\) 'atci & di-ki & 'tshopu & di & than & 'atci
\end{tabular}\(\quad\) di-la
'6et-na bim-pa bet nuk t6hi-na. (TE45)
speak-NFNT1 give-NMLZ;Q AUX this.way do;vbzr-NFNT1
'(The younger sister) spoke that way to her elder sister and elder sister's husband.'
This is an advice and hence benefactive. The speech is meant to benefit the hearer.
17.103 hi-ni hi-ni '6a 'lam-na bin-tsun. (TE3)
this-ABL this-ABL meat fry-NFNT1 give-PST.EXP
'Then he fried some meat for me.'

A benefactive chain is negated by negating the final verb 'to give', see more about backwards spreading of negation in 12.4.The next example shows how it works:

\subsection*{17.104 roo-s-ø \\ 3SG-PL1-ERG \\ 'ne-na}
hatca-ran-la
't6haa
1PL.INCL-self-DAT manure
'mit-tik-køt-to. (TE46)
give.manure-NFNT1 NEG-give-PROG;EXP-PROB
'Perhaps they will not fertilize our fields.'
The referents are sheep shepherds who come with their flocks and the villagers benefit from the sheep manure.

The following example illustrates how benefactive combines with imperative:
17.105 'ja(k) 'mikma 'suŋmara u-ko 'set-na tir-ro tohi

SAP 'mikma 'sungmara that-head kill-NFNT1 give-AID do;vbzr[IMP]
wassi kuttci. (TE17)
please please
'Please do kill that Mikma Shungmara for me!'

\subsection*{17.2.6 Serial chaining and imperative finite verb}

When the final verb is an agentive verb which requires dative case marked dativelindirect object the medial verb is typically marked with dative case marker -la. The following two examples illustrate:
17.106 jari-ki 'Iha-ka引-ki t6aari-tu tøl-la \(\underline{\text { bok }}\)
some-ERG god-house-GEN yard-LOC reveal-DAT put.leave[IMP]
sin-na ket dzap-a bet. (TE31)
say-NFNT1 voice vbzr-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Some shouted saying: 'Take it from hiding and place it openly at the temple yard!'
The idea is that the thief might save his face if he brings the stolen item secretly to the temple yard. No one would know who the thief was.

\subsection*{17.107 'gi-la dzuk.}
die-DAT go[IMP]
'Go to death! Or: I wish you die. Or: Die!
This is an evil wish speaker utters to his enemy.

\subsection*{17.2.7 Negation with shared subject}

In perfective and benefactive chains the negative covers both medial and final clauses. It makes no difference which one is negated. The same is true with some lexicalized chains like lok-na jun- 'returning come', 'luk-na cok- 'to put and keep' in which the medial and final verbs are also lexically related. David Watters reports the same in Kham (see Watters David E. 2002. A Grammar of Kham. Cambridge University Press:327).

If the verbs come from different sets of transitivity it is likely that the negation of the final verb does not cover the medial clause. Medial and final verbs are underlined and serial chaining clauses are in square brackets in the following examples:
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 17.108 tij-laa after-ADVZR & \begin{tabular}{l}
tuwa [ nuk \\
food this.way
\end{tabular} & \[
\frac{\text { t6hi-na }}{\text { do;vbzr-NFNT1 }}
\] & \\
\hline lok-na & mat-iun-a-la ] & khanta & khanta ak \\
\hline return-NFNT1 & NEG-come-NMLZ & Z;Q-DAT what & what INCLN \\
\hline mit-jun-et & t6hi-pa & bet. (TE45) & \\
\hline NEG-come-I & CH say-NMLZ;Q & AUX & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
'Since the food did not come back just like that, she said: 'Nothing comes back.'
The person had understood the figure of speech literally. She expected the food to come back to her because she had thrown it away with a sling as her sister had advised her.

CL (manner) CL-na NEG-NP(final CL) ...
17.109 nuk trhi-pa '6øt-t6e mip-pa [lok-na ak
that.way do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q speak-SBJV NEG.EXIST-NMLZ;Q return-NFNT1 INCLN mit-jun-ken bet.] (TE30)
NEG-come-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'(Sheep) are ignorant and confused that way and therefore they do not come back either.'

Structurally this looks like a concessive relation but it is not. Negation covers both medial and final clause. Suffix -na marks the same subject serial chaining here.

\subsection*{17.3 Complement clauses}

In section 12.8 I have discussed various complements of a VP. In this chapter the topic is clausal or sentential complements. Michael Noonan defines the complement as follows: "By complementation, we mean the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate...A predication can be viewed as an argument of a predicate if it functions as the subject or object of that predicate.", (see Noonan, Michael. Complementation. in Shopen, Timothy ed. 2007. Language Typology and Syntactic Description Vol. II. Cambridge University:52 ).

My intention is to talk about various kinds of clausal and sentential complements Lhomi has and those verbs that typically take complements, so called CTP (complement taking predicates). Typically clausal/sentential complements are nominalized clauses but Lhomi also has what Noonan calls sentence-like complements. In sections 16 on relative clauses and in 15 on modality verbs there are more examples of complement clauses. Lhomi has a few verb nominalizers which often are complementizers. It is the matrix verb that typically governs the case markings. Consider the following (the matrix verb argument is in square brackets):
17.110 dan-harin ['ne dzaa-pa-la ] le 'Ihaa-mu min-tuk. (TE48)
yesterday-today pilgrimage visit-NMLZ;Q-DAT work easy-F1 NEG-EXIST.VIS
'In these days it is not easy to visit a pilgrimage site. Or:.... going for a pilgrimage is not easy in these days.'

In this example the underlined part is the dative case marked locative/indirect object of the BR2 type existential matrix verb. The subject is 'easy work'. It is the dative case marker -la in the \(\mathrm{NP}(\mathrm{CL})\) which is the complementizer.
17.111 gempu-la=ran partan pantsa u-ko 'lit-ni
gembu-DAT=FOC pradhan panch that-head come-NFNT2
'thim t6øt-t6e di [ mip-pa-la ] 'son-a bet. (TE36)
law cut-SBJV DEF NEG.EXIST-NMLZ;Q-DAT go-NMLZ;Q AUX
'After Gembu became the pradhan panch, the legal procedures have ended (in the village). Or: .... have gone to nothing.'

This example comes from a story that tells how the whole administrative system changed and in the new system the old village leader Gembu has no power to act as a judge in the village. The nominalized existential verb mip-pa-la has all the markings of a dative case marked locative/indirect object of the matrix verb 'to go, to become' .
Locative is one of the arguments of this BR3 verb which is a non-agentive verb.

\subsection*{17.112 [n-e tam hi-ko 'khun-ten hin than mel-la ]}

1SG-GEN speech this-head true-steady COP and NEG.COP-DAT
'phaa-tu 'phin-na tø-let.
over.there-LOC go.come[PST]-NFNT1 look-SCI
'Go over there and look at whether my speech is true or not!'
Speaker tells the hearers to go and have a look to find out if his speech is true or not. The matrix verb in this one is T2 type and the complement clause is dative marked patient/direct object.

\subsection*{17.3.1 Complementizer =tu}

Givon talks about a subgroup of manipulation verbs (Givón, Talmy. 2001. Syntax, An introduction, Vol. I. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins:152). He gives four syntactic definitions for these verbs and Lhomi causatives fit in this subgroup of verbs.

In chapter 12.5 I have already listed some pairs of suppletive causative verbs which are not complement taking verbs. Various kinds of causative constructions and suppletive causatives form a major part of Lhomi syntax.

In this section I explain the syntax of the causative verb tsyt. Though the complement clause is marked with purpose clitic (=tu) it is not an adverbial clause but a clausal complement of the main clause. With other main verbs this marker marks an adverbial clause, see section 17.1.1.The following arguments help to see that:
-The complement clause is marked with the purposive clitic \(=\mathbf{t u}\) which nominalizes the complement-clause verb and is so called complementizer.
-The verb of the main clause is causative verb tsyt 'to cause, to make'.
-The main clause is a BT or T clause.
-The agent/subject of the main clause is the ergative marked subject.
-The manipulee of the main clause is the indirect object of the main verb and the rest of the complement clause is the direct object argument.
-If the complement clause has an inanimate subject, the whole complement clause is the direct object of the main verb, e.g. example 17.116. The complement clauses are in square brackets.
```

17.113 pap-e ja-la [doman dok=tu ] tSYs-son.
father-ERG 1SG-DAT rel.book read=PURP cause-PST.VIS
'Father made me read the domang book.'

```
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 17.114 gott-e & ya-la ['t6hampa & dzak=tu ] & tsyt-t6un. \\
\hline 3SG-ERG & 1SG-DAT flu & vbzr=PURP & cause-PST.EXP \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
'He caused me to catch a cold.'
Though the main verb is a volitional one the speaker does not mean that the friend intentionally made him sick.
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \multirow[t]{3}{*}{17.115} & dak-Y & na-la & [ khaa=tu & \(]\) tsyt-t6un. \\
\hline & friend-ERG & 1SG-DAT & get.tired=PURP & cause-PST.EXP \\
\hline & \multicolumn{4}{|l|}{'A friend caused me to become tired.'} \\
\hline & \multicolumn{4}{|l|}{This may imply that the friend walked too fast or gave} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \multirow[t]{4}{*}{17.116} & 'lam-e & [ 'tsheppa dzak=tu ] & tsys-son. \\
\hline & lama-ERG & rain vbzr=PURP & cause-PST.VIS \\
\hline & \multicolumn{3}{|l|}{'The lama caused it to rain.' Or: 'The lama made raining.'} \\
\hline & \multicolumn{3}{|l|}{Lamas perform certain rites and people believe that the rain results.} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline 17.117 dak-Y & na-la [ gotta nuu '6ii三tu ] & tsyt-t6un. \\
\hline friend-ERG & 1SG-DAT 3SG face know=PURP & cause-PST.EXP \\
\hline 'A friend cau & sed me to get to know him (a third per & rson) personally.' \\
\hline Or: 'My frie & made me to know him personally.' & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

When causative manipulation is negated there is a semantic shift, the meaning becomes "not to let, not to allow" rather than "not to cause". Consider the following example from a text:
```

17.118 day-hariy-ki polis than partan pantsa thay
yesterday-today-GEN police and pradhan panch and
kurikki [ centon tshit=tu ]
all-ERG exploiting do;vbzr=PURP
'mit-tsyk-ken
bet. (TE33)
NEG-cause-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'In these days police and the pradhan and all people do not allow (them) to exploit.'
This sentence is elliptic, the indirect object comes in the next clause.

```

\subsection*{17.3.2 Complementizer -ri}

I have treated the reciprocal pronouns in section 2.5.5. In this section I treat the reciprocal activity or action of two or more parties upon each other. This combines with the whole range of agentive verbs like, 'to converse, to chat, to beat, to fight' etc. The activity or movement happens back and forth between the participants. If there are two participants they are "reciprocally co-referent. They act upon (or relate to) each other". ( Givon, Talmy. Syntax, An Introduction Vol. II. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins:96).
-The complement-clause verb is nominalized with the reciprocal activity marker -ri which is attached to the nonpast root of the verb. The morpheme gloss RECP is used for this nominalizer.
-The main verb is ci with the finite clause affixation.This verb has elsewhere different lexical content, namely 'heed, obey'. Here it is lexically almost empty and the meaning of the main clause comes from the complement-clause verb.
-Only agentive verbs qualify to be complement-clause verbs.
-Subjects are reciprocally co-referential. When the first is subject the other is object and vice versa.
-The rest of the complement clause is the object of the matrix clause.
-The main verb has all the inflections of an agentive verb, e.g. 1PST tsi-jen.However the agent is not always marked for ergative as it should be with BT and T verbs. It is often in absolutive case. The reason, I assume, might be that the activity is mutual and there are actually two or more agents acting on each other. Consider the following examples (complement clauses are in square brackets):
\begin{tabular}{llll}
17.119 & roo-so & 'yii-pu & ta-ri ] \\
& 3SG-PL1 & two-M1 & look-RECP
\end{tabular}\(\quad\)\begin{tabular}{l} 
tsi-kuk. \\
'They two are looking at each other.'.
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{17.120 roo-so [ber-ri ] tsi-kuk.}

3SG-PL1 beat-RECP heed-PROG;VIS
'They are beating each other.'
There is no need to add a reciprocal pronoun because the reciprocal activity is coded in the complement clause.

\subsection*{17.121 roo-so 'sum [' '6øt-ri ] tsi-kuk.}

3SG-PL1 three speak-RECP heed-PROG;VIS
'Those three men are talking back and forth.'
It may be just friendly talk with each other or it may include some arguing or debating.
17.122 roo-so [ dzuk-ri ] tsi-son.

3SG-PL1 run-RECP heed-PST.VIS
'They competed in running.' Lit. 'They ran a race with each other.'


\subsection*{17.3.3 Complementizer -lu}

When the noun luu 'cast,concept' compounds with a verb the outcome is a noun which entails the idea of how something is done, how something happens etc. The following examples illustrate it:
\begin{tabular}{ll}
17.124 hatca-ran-s-ø kett6ok hiko khok-kaa-ki kettgok-tan \\
1PL.INCL-self-PL1-GEN language this Nepali-HUM2-GEN language-COM \\
mit-dik-ken & trhi-ni \\
NEG-harmonize-NMLZ;CONJ & do;vbzr-NFNT2
\end{tabular}
[(iki thi-lu di ik) khok-ket-tan writing write-concept DEF INCLN Nepali-language-COM
\begin{tabular}{llll} 
mit-dik-ken & him-pa] & hatsa-ran & kurik-la \\
NEG-harmonize-NMLZ;CONJ & AUX-NMLZ;Q 1PL.INCL-self & all-DAT \\
'6øt-tce & jøk-ken & bet. & (TE86) \\
speak-SBJV & EXIST-NMLZ;CONJ & AUX &
\end{tabular}
'Because our language and Nepali language are different, we all know that also the way we write is not in harmony with the writing of Nepali language.'

The verb dik is a BR5 type verb and the complement clause is the absolutive marked dative/direct object of the negated non-finite clause which is nominalized. The whole construction in square brackets is actually another complement-clause of the final existential clause. Brackets hopefully clarify.
```

17.125 [nis-s-\varnothing iki thi-lu hiko-la] pyntcaa-s-\varnothing
1PL.EXCL-PL1-GEN writing write-concept this-DAT brother-PL1-GEN
thø jøt-na thii-na ton-ro tshi. (TE86)
plan EXIST-NFNT1 write-NFNT1 send-AID do;vbzr[IMP]
'Brothers, if there is a plan of your own for this writing system of ours, do put it in
writing and send to us.'
The complement in square brackets is the dative marked dativelindirect object of the non-finite existential clause.

```

\subsection*{17.3.4 Complementizer -lon}

This suffix typically marks punctiliar imperative, see more in 15.5.1.2. However it also nominalizes a non-final clause and the result is a complement clause. The nominalized root may be either past or nonpast. Consider the following examples:
17.126 ni u-ki doj-tu ajekpa 'tshap-tokpa tohi-na 'nam-la that-GEN in.front-LOC ajekpa be.in.hurry-NMLZ do;vbzr-NFNT1 sky-DAT
mirek bar-son sin-na kha-na ['antam
large.fire become.ignited-PST.VIS say-NFNT1 where-IN story
'6øt-lon ] jøp-pa? tshi-pa bet. (TE69)
speak[NPST]-PUNC EXIST.EXP-NMLZ;Q say-NMLZ;Q AUX
'In front of him Ayekpa seemed to be in a hurry and said to him: "The whole sky is in flames, where/how do I have a moment to tell you a story?"'

This character is the famous Ayekpa who tells stories and cheats people in trading. The matrix verb is the existential verb and the nominalized clause in brackets is the complement which is the patient/object of the final matrix clause.
17.127 olaphi-ray-ki taj-e imel di 'thop-toun.

Olavi-self-ERG send;vbzr-NMLZ;Q-GEN email DEF receive-PST.EXP
le man thaa-ni [imel ta-lon ] mat-jun. (TE95)
work a.lot become-NFNT2 email look.at[NPST]-PUNC NEG-come[PST]
'I did receive the email which you Olavi sent me.Because I had so much work, there wasn't a moment to look at the emails.'
17.128 ni u-ki naj-tu tcii sø-na \(\quad\) sak-ni ['sik di
that-GEN inside-LOC trigger make-NFNT1 leave-NFNT2 leopard DEF
u-tu nan-la suu-lon mik-la ]
that-LOC inside-DAT enter[PST]-PUNC moment-DAT
'khor-ki gottsek di 'thak roo-ran
trap-GEN door DEF right.away 3SG-self
'tshet do-ken bet. (TE50)
snap go-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'After (one) has made a trigger inside the trap, the door of the trap suddenly closes by itself right at the moment the leopard enters inside.'

The underlined part is a postpositional phrase whose complement is the nominalized clause na引la suulon.

\subsection*{17.3.5 Complementizer -le}

This complementation typically combines with agentive verbs. The meaning is to improve the outcome of the verbal action or motion or to make addition to it. The syntactic characteristics are as follows:
-The verb tohit- is the matrix verb.
-The complement-clause verb is nominalized with the marker -le. This nominalizing marker may have actually come from the noun le 'work' or from the verb le 'to remain, be left' through grammaticalization.
-The agent/subject of the complement-clause is governed by the main clause verb.
-The subject of the complement clause and the subject of the main clause are coreferential and the rest of the complement clause is the object of the main clause.

As two of the examples below demonstrate the main clause may be also in imperative. Consider the following examples (markers are underlined):
17.129 万ik-ki
[ laykak so-le ]
1PL.EXCL-ERG path make-NMLZ
tshi-pen.
'We improved the trail.'

\subsection*{17.130 [ khulak trt-le ] twhi-let. \\ clothes wash-NMLZ do;vbzr[IMP]-SCI}
'Wash the same clothes again!'
Clothes are not clean enough. Wash them cleaner, redo it!

\section*{\(17.131 \mathrm{\eta}\)-e [ khulak tsim-le ] tohi-pen. \\ 1SG-ERG clothing sew-NMLZ do;vbzr-1PST \\ 'I improved the sewing of my clothing.'}

Speaker may have made it larger or smaller. He improved the work of someone else because it did not fit.

\subsection*{17.132 [tuwa sa-le] mit-tshit. \\ food eat-NMLZ NEG-do;vbzr[NPST]}
'I eat no more'. Or: 'I do not eat additional portion of food'.
Speaker refuses to eat more though someone has suggested him to do so.

\subsection*{17.133 [tam '6øt-le ] t6hi-let.}
message speak-NMLZ do;vbzr[IMP]-SCI
'Tell us some more!'
Speaker has finished speaking and some hearers did not quite grasp and they ask for more in order to undestand better.

\subsection*{17.3.6 Complementizer -ro}

Aid or co-operation complementation entails the idea of helping someone to accomplish the activity or action. It also entails a joint action or shared activity.

It has the following syntactic characteristics:
-The complement-clause verb is nominalized with 'aid' marker -ro.
-The main verb is tohit 'do;vbzr' with all its finite markings.
-Complement-clause verbs are typically agentive verbs.
-Subjects are co-referential and the rest of the complement-clause is the object of the main clause.
-The main verb has all the inflections of an agentive verb, e.g. tshi-pen.
This 'aid' marker combines also with imperative but I treat that in chapter 15.5.2.
Consider the following examples (complementizer -ro and the main verb are underlined and the complement-clause is in square brackets):
17.134 u-la \(\quad\)-e [ 'khur-ro] tohi-pen.
that-DAT 1SG-ERG carry-AID do;vbzr-1PST
'I made it possible for him to carry his load.'
I carried part of it and he carried part of it. Load is left implicit in this example.
17.135 roo-ki ['khur-ro ] tshi-tsun.

3SG-ERG carry-AID do;vbzr-PST.EXP
'He helped and carried part of my load.' Or: 'He made it possible for me to carry the load.

Speaker was helped by this other person and it was typical joint activity.
17.136 dъaа-p-y 'khim di-tu matcik sik-ken di-la
king-M1-GEN house DEF-LOC aunt say-NMLZ;CONJ DEF-DAT
[ khulak tyt-ro ] t6he. (TE21)
clothes wash-AID do;vbzr[PST]
'Inside the king's palace (the ugly one) helped the woman who was called his aunt to wash clothes.'

It is the "ugly one" who is the hero in this story but he is left implicit in this sentence. He washed the clothes of the royal family together with the so called "aunt". They did it together.


\subsection*{17.3.7 Complementizer -t6e with the matrix verb dъor}

The matrix verb is dzor 'to obtain, be available'.
-Only T1 and T2 verbs qualify for the complement-clause verbs.
-The complement-clause verb is nominalized by -tse SBJV which elsewhere typically marks subjunctive.
-The dative case marked dative/subject is shared by both clauses and the rest of the complement clause is the patient/object of the main clause.
-The main clause may be negated or used in interrogative, and it may occur in past or nonpast tense.

The following examples illustrate how this complementizer works with the matrix verb dzor (the complement-clause is in brackets):
17.138 sa-ma u-tu [ no-tce] dzor-ken bet.
eat-F2 that-LOC buy-SBJV be.available-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Food is there available for buying.' Or:'Buying food is available there.'
17.139 tuwa sas-sa-la [tuwa sa-t6e] dzor-kuk=ka?
food eat-ground-DAT food eat-SBJV be.available-PROG;VIS=Q
'Is cooked rice available for eating in the restaurant?'Or:'Is food available in the
restaurant?'
17.3.8 Complementizer -tse with the matrix verb 'non

The matrix verb 'noy means 'to have an opportunity, to get a chance'. There is more about this verb in 15.1.2.6. 'non is more widely used than dzor, see in section 17.3.7.
-The tense of the main clause (BR1 type) is past or nonpast.
-The matrix verb 'non combines with most verbs except existentials and copulas. -Nonpast root of the complement-clause verb is nominalized by -tre SBJV .
-Case markings of the dative/subject of the complement clause are governed by the complement-clause verb.
-The rest of the nominalized complement clause is the object of the main clause.
Consider the following examples (the complement clause is in brackets):

\subsection*{17.140 u-ni}
that-ABL VIP 1PL.INCL-self-DAT
nø-tce ] 'noŋ-ken
obtain-SBJV get.opportunity-NMLZ;CONJ
[ 'trhaa
manure
bet. (TE46)
AUX
'It is then that we all will have a chance to get manure.'
Speaker is a village leader who attempts to get villagers to cooperate with him for common goal, to build a bridge. It is only then that the flocks of sheep can come and fertilize their fields.

\subsection*{17.141 kurik-la [gempu karm-e kettea nen-tee ] \\ all-DAT headman Karma-GEN speech listen-SBJV \\ 'non-a bet. \\ get.opportunity-NMLZ;Q AUX}
'All got a chance to listen to the village leader Karma's speech.'

\subsection*{17.3.9 Complementizer -ken}

I call this a subject nominalizer because it nominalizes the clause and typically, but not always (see 17.148) makes it a subject complement. This complementizer combines with almost any type of verb. The following examples illustrate (complement clause is in square brackets):
\begin{tabular}{rllll}
\(\mathbf{1 7 . 1 4 2}\) & [gen 'khur-ken & di] & tsiki & tsik 'ik \\
duty carry-NMLZ;CONJ DEF & one & one INCLN & NEG-tuk. (TE11)
\end{tabular}
'There is not a single one who takes the reponsibility.'
The NP (headless relative clause) in brackets is the grammatical subject of the main clause. Dative marked locative is left implicit.
\begin{tabular}{llll}
17.143 & tek-mu ta-ken & khajet & di-ki] \\
weigh-F1 watch-NMLZ;CONJ & plural DEF-ERG \\
u-ko khanta tohi-na & tohetne \\
that-head what & do;vbzr-NFNT1 face \\
'mit-tøn-ken & bek=ka? & (TE 21) \\
NEG-reveal-NMLZ;CONJ & AUX=Q &
\end{tabular}
'The spectators asked: "Why does he not reveal his face?"' Again the subject NP is a headless relative clause.
17.144 [hi-ki 'khim hi-ko so-ken di] 'aku passan bet. this-GEN house this-head build-NMLZ;CONJ DEF uncle passang COP '[One who builds this house] is uncle Passang.'
The definite article in this example can be regarded as an additional complementizer which clearly marks the nominalized clause as a NP. This is subject argument of the copular bet.
 behind, the weaker ones'.

This is from the story of a sheep shepherd. One of the shepherds has to herd the sheep from behind the flock, because the weaker ones are slow. The first NP in brackets is the subject of the final verb dit-na. The second NP is the object of the same final clause dit-na. Another NP is juxtaposed to the second one but it is not a complementation.

\subsection*{17.3.10 Complementizer -pa with PCU matrix verbs}

Givon talks about PCU verbs (Givón, Talmy. 2001. Syntax, An introduction, Vol. I. Amsterdam and Philadelphia:John Benjamins:309). They are perception, cognition and utterance verbs, e.g. 'to see, to understand, to hear, to say'. Following examples illustrate how the complement clauses combine with the PCU matrix verbs in Lhomi:
17.146 ni tam thii-ni 'ni kurik sitijo-so nispektor-so kurik pempu
language enquire-NFNT2 DM all CDO-PL1 inspector-PL1 all official
'tshi-jaa 'tchi-jaa-ki doj-tu hassøt kurik-la tam '6øt=tu high-COMP2 high-COMP2-GEN in.front-LOC VIP all-DAT speech speak=PURP tsyt-ni u-ki dzimpa di-la tam '6øt=tu tsyt-ni 'ni cause-NFNT2 that-GEN Dzimpa DEF-DAT speech speak=PURP cause-NFNT2 DM 'ni 'ni pempu 'tehi-jaa di-p-e [u-ki dzimpa di-la DM official high-COMP2 DEF-HUM1-ERG that-GEN Dzimpa DEF-DAT nantak-ki nak mip-pa] 'thon-a bet. (TE31) major-GEN crime NEG.EXIST-NMLZ;Q see-NMLZ;Q AUX 'After the high officials and the police inspector had interrogated Jimpa in the presence of them all, they saw Jimpa having no major crime.'

The matrix verb is BR7 type. The complement clause in square brackets is the patient/direct object argument of the matrix verb 'to see'.
17.147 u-ni ajekpa gir-kil-la 'phin-ni jan 'sane
that-ABL ajekpa wander-NMLZ-DAT go.come[PST]-NFNT2 CONTR2 place taik-tu mi toik 'mø 'møp-pa-tan 'thep-pa bet. INDF-LOC man INDF ploughing plough-NMLZ;Q-COM meet-NMLZ;Q AUX ni u-la gantikma te-ni [u-ki kanpa-la dzutta mat-khøm-pa] that-DAT closely look.at-NFNT2 that-ERG foot-DAT shoes NEG-wear-NMLZ;Q 'thon-a bet. (TE67) see-NMLZ;Q AUX
'While Ayekpa was wandering around, he actually met a man who was ploughing. After he had looked at the man very closely, (Ayekpa) saw him not wearing shoes.'

In this example the underlined clause is nominalized and embedded into the matrix clause as its absolutive marked patient/object argument.

\subsection*{17.148 ['khit-ray-ki jit 'thek-kin 'thep-pa tshi-kuk.}

2PL-FOC-ERG 1PL meet-NMLZ like.to-NMLZ;Q do;vbzr-PROG;VIS
sir-a ] 'ha khoo-tcuy.
say-NMLZ;Q aud.impact hear-PST.EXP
'We heard someone saying that you would like to see us."'
This is indirect speech and sir-a is the complementizer. 2PL pronoun indicates that it is the observation of the reporter, not a direct quotation of the recipients of the letter. Someone who has witnessed that the recipients of this letter would like to meet with the writer has reported to the writer what he has witnessed.
17.149 hunto 'aku-raŋ mennak-ki 'liŋ-la jøk-ken bek=o.
now uncle-self darkness-GEN totality-DAT EXIST-NMLZ;CONJ AUX=NEW.INF
\begin{tabular}{llll} 
['6i-ja \\
die-NMLZ;Q & him-pa & na & 'sø-pa
\end{tabular}\(\frac{\text { him-pa] }}{\text { COP-NMLZ;Q or }} \quad\)\begin{tabular}{ll} 
survive-NMLZ;Q & COP-NMLZ;Q
\end{tabular}
'ha mit-khoo-ken bek=o.
aud.impact NEG-undestand-NMLZ;CONJ AUX=NEW.INF
'aku-ran harin-ni tshi-pa di ly than 'sim uncle-self today-ABL do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q DEF body and mind
jaa the 'tshar-a bek=o. (TE51)
apart be.separated[PST] fall.off-NMLZ;Q AUX=NEW.INF
'I inform you uncle now that you are in the darkness. You do not understand whether you are the one who has died or the one who has survived. Uncle, I inform you, from today onwards your body and mind have become totally separated.'

This example comes from a speech of a lama who performs post mortem rituals. He addresses the dead person. Two coordinate underlined clauses have been nominalized and the matrix verb is 'to understand, to realize'. The object nominalization
has produced a NP which is embedded as a patient/object of the matrix verb. The complement clause is in square brackets.

\subsection*{17.3.11 Complementizer -pa with the matrix verb 'nø}

Examples 17.150-51 illustrate how another PCU verb 'to think' combines with complement clauses. This verb always requires a complement clause.The meaning of this verb is 'to think, to have opinion'. There is another verb in Lhomi that refers to reasoning as a mental process. However this verb 'nø- typically refers to a state, BR7 type verb.

Consider now the following illustrations:
17.150 hunto ran-ki ['noksam hi-ntuk tshi-pa] 'nø-kuk. (TE42)
now 2SG-ERG reasoning this-ADVZR do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q think-PROG;VIS 'Now you are thinking this kind of inner thoughts.'
A lama is telling his client what inner thoughts the client is thinking. Lama is supposed to see it therefore the sensory observation is used. The embedded nominalized clause (patient/direct object) is in square brackets.


Speaker may make this statement to himself or to someone else. He has thought that the track he chose to walk was a trail but it turns out not to be. Note that the first person subject is marked in the matrix verb. The complement clause is in brackets and it is the object argument of the matrix verb 'nø.

\subsection*{17.3.12 Double embedding complementations} Double embedding complementation with a PCU matrix verb
Next example illustrates a rather complex structure but yet so common in Lhomi:
17.152 u-ni
'sim lon-e
'クe660 di
that-ABL mind get.up-NMLZ;Q-GEN time DEF
\{u-ki 'ьi-na 'khur-a di-ki [(na '6i-ja hin)
that-GEN die-NFNT1 carry-NMLZ;Q DEF-ERG 1SG die-NMLZ;Q COP.EXP
'nø-pa di ]\} 'ha khoo-ken bet. (TE51)
think-NMLZ;Q DEF aud.impact hear;understand-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Then at the time of his soul waking up the man who has died realizes the thought "I am dead."

Or: "Then ....he understands the idea: "I am a dead one".
This example is from a report of post mortem rituals when a lama speaks to the dead man. At certain point the dead man's mind realizes that he is dead. The speaker gives a direct report of the dead man's utterance. The matrix clause 'nøpa di and the reported speech ya 'ءi-ja hin are coreferential. Therefore direct experience form (hin) is used. Ellen Bartee talks about this (see Bartee, Ellen. 2005. Role of Animacy in the Verbal Morphology of Dongwang Tibetan. UCSB SIL:6). The direct speech is
embedded to the matrix verb 'nø, which is nominalized and the whole new clause is embedded to another matrix verb 'to understand'. Three kinds of brackets hopefully help to make it clear. Note that it is the finite matrix verb 'ha khoo which governs the ergative marker of the agent/subject.

The innermost clause in brackets is a copular one with predicate nominal 'ءi-ja.
Double embedding complementation with the matrix verb 't6har
\begin{tabular}{clll}
17.153 jari & 'tshar & do-ken & bet. \\
some & fall.off & go-NMLZ;CONJ & AUX
\end{tabular}
ni [(uko 'tshar-son) 'nø-pa] 'mit-t6har-ken bet. (TE30)
that fall.off-PST.VIS think-NMLZ;Q NEG-rise.up-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Some (sheep) will fall off (the cliff). The thought that the other one fell off (the cliff) does not occur in its mind.'

Or: 'The thought: "That one fell off", does not occur in its mind.'
The latter clause refers to the sheep next in line to the one who fell off. The matrix verb is 'tshar-. This example gives an idea how complex the outcome may be with successive nominalizations. The referent of the first complement clause (uko 'tsharson) is not coreferential with the matrix verb 'nø-. However when the matrix verb 'nø- is nominalized and a new matrix verb 'tchar- is added the referents of these two clauses are coreferential. The matrix verb 'trhar- is a BR1 type verb.

The next example shows how the matrix verb 'tshar may occur also in a non-finite clause:
17.154 [(u-ki luk di-ki 'phir-son) 'nø-pa] 't6har-ni
that-GEN sheep DEF-ERG jump-PST.VIS think-NMLZ;Q rise.up-NFNT2
u-ki tij-la nuk=ran 'phir do-ken bet
that-GEN after-DAT that.way=FOC jump[NPST] go-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
ma di=raj. (TE30)
CONTR1 DEF=FOC
'(The sheep behind) thinks:"It jumped" and then jumps herself after it.'
This is how sheep behave. When the sheep ahead falls into a ravine the one coming behind thinks that it actually jumped and it jumps too and both fall and die.
```

17.155 [(roo-ki y-e 'khim hiko no-tme) 'nø-pa ]
3SG-ERG 1SG-GEN house this buy-SBJV think-NMLZ;Q
't6har-so\eta.
rise.up-PST.VIS
'He wanted to buy this house of mine.' Or: 'He got a desire to buy this house of
mine.'

```

In this illustration the ergative of the third person referent is governed by the agentive verb 'to buy'.

The innermost complement-clause is in brackets and the matrix verb for that is 'nøpa which is nominalized and the clause in square brackets is the complement-clause
whose matrix verb is 't6har, which also eventivizes the whole construction. The subjects of all three clauses are co-referential.

\section*{Double embedding complementation with the matrix verb tohit}

The matrix verb tshit is typically an agentive verb and it occurs in all kinds of constructions. In this one it is T1 type and the nominalized complement clause is the patient/direct object of the matrix verb.
\begin{tabular}{clll}
17.156 & luk-ki ma & di=ran & kha-tsøt se-na ak \\
sheep-ERG CONTR1 & DEF=FOC what-amount eat-NFNT1 INCLN \\
mit-day-ken & & bet.
\end{tabular}

NEG-become.satisfied-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
[(daj-tcup) 'nø-pa ]
become.satisfied-PST.EXP think-NMLZ;Q
mit-tshik-ken bet. (TE30)
NEG-do;vbzr-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Does not matter how much a sheep eats, it does not become satisfied.
'It does not act/behave thinking: "I got satisfied."
This example tells about the habits of sheep. When it has good grass it just eats and eats and is never satisfied.

It is the direct experience marker -toun on the verb dan- which makes it a direct speech. Subjects of all three clauses are co-referential. The finite matrix verb (trhit) refers to behaviour or acting of the sheep.

Double embedding complementation with the matrix verb 'khur
17.157 ga-ntija bet hi-ko.
be.glad-ADJVZR COP this-head
hi-la 'khit-ray-ki 'simp-e [ (men-to) 'nø-pa ]
this-DAT 2PL-self-GEN mind-ERG NEG.COP-PROB think-NMLZ;Q
'khur-na 'ak dik-ken bet. (TE56)
carry-NFNT1 INCLN fit.into-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'This is true. Even if you think that it may not be (true), it would be acceptable.
Or: This is true. It is acceptable if you think in your mind:"It may not be (true)".'
Speaker is trying to convince the hearers about something which he claims to be true. He adds that they may have doubts but it would be acceptable. The matrix verb 'khur is a BT1 type verb 'to carry something somewhere'. In this construction it still refers to carrying something, namely carrying an attitude or thought or idea. However it never has IO since one cannot carry an attitude somewhere. Therefore I regard it here as a T1 verb.

Double embedding complementation with the matrix verb 'sam

\subsection*{17.158 'khok-ki khanta-la [(men-to ) 'nø-pa] 'sam-ken?}

2SG-ERG what-DAT NEG.COP-PROB think-NMLZ;Q keep.in.mind-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
'Why do you think that it may not be so? Or:'Why do you keep in mind the thought:"It may not be true."'

All three clauses are coreferential. This matrix verb 'sam refers to keeping in mind and the main clause is a rhetorical question, a reprimand. The verb 'sam is a BR7 type verb but it hardly ever refers to an event because it typically refers to keeping in mind. It combines with precative and imperative like any agentive verb, e.g. ja ak 'sam-ro tohi 'Please do keep me in your mind!' There is not that much difference between this verb and the matrix verb 'khur, see e.g.17.157. However the third matrix verb 'tehar in this section almost always refers to an event, see e.g. 17.155.
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline 17.159 'tchø-tim mip-pa-la & ton-tu & [ ( na \\
\hline religion-law NEG.EXIST-NMLZ;Q-DAT & send;vbzr-PURP & 1SG \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
jun-a hin-to ) 'nø-pa] 'khit-ray-ki 'mat-sam.
come-NMLZ;Q COP.EXP-PROB think-NMLZ;Q 2PL-self-ERG NEG-keep.in.mind[IMP]
'Do not think in your mind that I might be the one who has come for the purpose to nullify the religious law!'

There is a 1SG pronoun in the innermost clause and that makes it indirect speech. This is one of the ways Lhomi signals the difference between indirect speech and direct speech. In direct speech the speaker would have to quote the hearer verbatim and the pronoun would have to be with third person reference. I have left the adverbial clause in the beginning out but it could be included too in the complement clause. The finite matrix verb is in imperative. It is an order/command.

\section*{Summary of the sections 17.3.11-12}

The nominalized verb 'nø-pa can be considered a complementizer. Syntactically it works very much like sir-a or sin-na which mark quotative, see more in section on Evidentials 13.2.6. Both 'nø-pa and sir-a or sin-na mark what Michael Noonan calls sentence-like complements, (see Noonan, Michael. Complementation. in Shopen, Timothy ed. 2007. Language Typology and Syntactic Description Vol. II. Cambridge University Press:61). The latter markers (sin-na or sir-a) hardly ever mark an indirect speech. However the complementizer 'nø-pa may mark either. The following list shows how the subject referentiality differs:

All three clauses have co-referential subjects
17.152, 156, 157,158 (direct speech)

Only last two clauses of the double embedding have co-referential subjects
17.153, 154,155,159 (indirect speech)

Table 17.4 List of some derivational suffixes which nominalize verbs
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
\hline Nominalizer & & Morpheme gloss \\
\hline -ken & typically subject nominalization & NMLZ;CONJ \\
\hline -pal-wal-jal-a & typically object nominalization & NMLZ;Q \\
\hline -ma & & F2 \\
\hline -tan & & COM \\
\hline -tce & should, ought to, & SBJV \\
\hline -tokpa & appears to & NMLZ \\
\hline -lon & in non-finite clauses & PUNC \\
\hline -ro & marks a complement-clause, e.g. in precative & AID \\
\hline -tu & marks a complement-clause with causative & PURP \\
\hline -ri & marks a complement-clause with reciprocal activity & RECP \\
\hline -kin & marks simultaneous activity & NMLZ \\
\hline -lu & marks a complement-clause of how & concept, cast \\
\hline -lon & marks a complement-clause of a moment & PUNC \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{17.4 Sentence relators}

In Lhomi discourse there are several syntactic devices that link the current clause to all that has taken place before or to just previous sentence or clause. As for sentence relators I follow what David Watters writes:"They relate the current notional clause to some adjoining chunk of text which potentially, though not necessarily, consists of more than one clause." (Watters David E. 2002. A Grammar of Kham, Cambridge University Press:347).

\section*{'Therefore' relator}
'Therefore' relator includes medial verb 'do;vbzr' tohi-ni with the non-finite verbal suffix -ni (NFNT2). Usually there is also the demonstrative hiko or uko which is the subject of the clause. The following example illustrates this:
\begin{tabular}{cllll}
17.160 mi-i & 'thon-kin & 'thon-kin & kynnak ku \\
man-ERG & see-NMLZ & see-NMLZ & theft & steal \\
's-y & 'yt & 'mit-tshuu-ken & bet. \\
who-ERG & INCLN & NEG-be.able-NMLZ;CONJ & AUX
\end{tabular}
hiko tohi-ni kynnak mennak-la
this do;vbzr-NFNT2 theft darkness-DAT
maj-aa ku-ken bet. (TE63)
a.lot-COMP2 steal-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'No one steals while men can see it. Therefore (thieves) steal usually in the darkness.'

\section*{'If that is the case' sentence relator}
'In that case, if that is the case' is an adverbial clause with conditional reading. The verb is a copular verb. This relator chains the previous sentence or a larger chunk to what follows. It is used in persuasive or argumentative genre. The next example illustrates this:
17.161 ni sattcip di-p-e lempu-la hi-ntuk tohi-pa


\subsection*{17.162 u-ntuk hin-na \\ that-ADVZR COP-NFNT1}
ray 'tøhøttsen khajet 'khur-la dzuk. (TE18)
2SG rel.things plural carry-DAT run[IMP]
'If that is the case, take all rel.things with you and get out! Or: That being the case..

This conditional clause which is underlined relates to preceding sentences where the great lama refuses the reward the king is offering him for his services. The result is the main clause which is very impolite and stern. Speaker is the offended king.

\footnotetext{
'Nevertheless, however, despite' relators
17.163 dzyt-la jøp-p-e too-ki giwa toj-a
descendent-DAT EXIST-NMLZ;Q-GEN tradition-GEN giwa send;vbzr-NMLZ;Q
ta ton go-ken bet.
EMPHP send;vbzr have.to-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
ni hin-na ak u-la giwa 'tohi-tsun ton-e 'hak COP-NFNT1 INCLN that-DAT giwa large-small send-NMLZ;Q-GEN right
u-ki 'khim-ki dakpu di-la ak juŋ-ken bet. (TE52)
that-GEN house-GEN owner DEF-DAT INCLN come-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'They must perform the traditional post mortem rites which the tribe has.
}

Nevertheless the owner of the house has the right to perform either cheap or expensive giwa.'

This example is from a text which describes various local traditions. The giwa rites must be performed for the wife who comes from another clan. It is the kinsmen of the wife who decide it. However the husband can decide how much money he spends on it. 'Nevertheless, yet or however' is the proper translation of this concessive non-final clause which ties it to the preceding sentence.

\section*{'Both and' paratactic relator}

The next example illustrates 'both ... and' paratactic relation. The first clause is adverbial with conditional reading, the second and the third are paratactic clauses. The concessive clause modifies the finite verb.
17.164 pyn tsik apitaa-la 'son-na 'ni u-ki thik-la giwa
sister INDF barren-DAT become-NFNT1 DM that-GEN about-DAT post.mortem
\begin{tabular}{lllll} 
ton-t6e-ma & jøt & jan & dzıu & tcalak \\
send;vbzr-SBJV-F2 & EXIST.EXP CONTR2 & property & things
\end{tabular}
dakpu tohit-t6e-ma jøt-na ak u-ki 'hak di
owner do;vbzr-SBJV-F2 EXIST.EXP-NFNT1 INCLN that-GEN right DEF
u-ki pyn di-la juŋ-ken bet. (TE52)
that-GEN sister/brother DEF-DAT come-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'If (someone's) married sister has become childless, then in fact both the obligation to perform post mortem rites for her and the right to own her kitchen utensils go to her siblings.'

\section*{'Whether one does or one doesn't' paratactic relator}

The following example comes from a text in which a leader argues that manure is needed in the fields. If there is no manure your field work is in vain. In English the relation is 'whether one does ..... or one does not'. Neither of these clauses is independent though it looks like each has a finite copular verb. They are in paratactic relationship to each other.
 difference.'

\section*{'Either or' paratactic relator}

Next example illustrates how Lhomi uses concessive relation to communicate such English relations like 'either or', 'whether it is this or whether it is that', 'whether it is here or whether it is there'. In this kind of copular or existential constructions there may be up to three or four paratactic clauses and then the final one is with concessive marking. In this example two clauses (underlined here) are in paratactic relation to each other. The latter
one is an adverbial clause with concession reading and it modifies the main verb in the end.
17.166 hi-ni u-ki mat-thak-na kajce
this-ABL that-INS NEG-become.well-NFNT1 animal.sacrifice
ra hin luk hin-na ak tsik-ki 'trhøk-ken bet.(TE49) goat COP sheep COP-NFNT1 INCLN one-INS placate-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Then if he does not become well by that sacrifice (chicken), (the shaman) placates (the deity) with a larger animal sacrifice, either a goat or a sheep. (Lit.... whether it is a goat or a sheep).'

\section*{'Rather, instead, on the contrary' sentence relator}

The sentence relator boora marks a kind of substitutive contrastive relation between two clauses or two sentences or even higher syntactic units. The relation is either contrastive or corrective. This word makes the proposition of the current sentence preferable to the proposition that precedes. It is of some interest to realize that Kham has buru for this sentence relator (see Watters David E. 2002 A Grammar of Kham.
Cambridge University Press:349). English equivalents are various contrastive conjunctions like 'rather', 'instead', 'on the contrary'. There is one more illustration of this marker in 17.32.

The following example is from an argumentative text in which the speaker argues that to get sheep dung in the field is necessary. The contrastive corrective relation goes to the previous sentence which has two paratactic clauses.

boora u-le ta 'sø-le instead that-COMP.BASIS EMPHP survive-NMLZ the tan-a ga-a jun-ken bet. (TE46)
chop IMMED-NMLZ;Q be.glad-COMP2 come-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Whether (one) works in the field of no manure or does not work, it makes no difference. Instead it would be much better to slash and burn.'

Slash and burn is a method Lhomis use to have some new fields in steep slopes but they do not really produce very well. Speaker's point is that unless the villagers agree to have sheep manure in the fields they will have poor harvest. I have borrowed the term adversative correction relation for this from (Halliday, M. A. K. and Ruqaiya Hasan. 1976. Cohesion in English. [English Language Series - 9] London:Longman.Pp.242-243).

\section*{Exception sentence relator ma di}

I borrow the term from David Watters again (A Grammar of Kham. Cambridge University Press:349). He says:"Exception relator presents an exception, limitation or qualification to the preceding discourse."
ma di, CONTR1 in Lhomi is one of the exception relators which may be translated into English like 'in fact, as a matter of fact, actually, on the other hand, however'. This relator typically occurs following or preceding a NP which is somehow connected to this sentence relator. The position of this relator in a sentence is not really fixed. It relates the current clause to previous clause or sentence or to a whole preceding section of discourse. This relator may occur also without the definite article di. This discussion overlaps somewhat what I have talked in 9.2.16 where I call this marker a contrastive particle. Consider the following:
17.168 khanta hin sin-na u-p-e thø 'ak-pokma
what COP.EXP say-NFNT1 that-HUM1-ERG plan evil-ADJVZR
tohip-pa di j-e 'ha khoo-tcuy.
do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q DEF 1SG-ERG aud.impact hear;understand-PST.EXP
u-ni ja ma di 'sim-p-e naŋ-la
that-ABL 1SG CONTR1 DEF mind-HUM1-GEN inside-DAT
dzii-t6e-ma das-si t6hi-t6uy. (TE58)
fear-SBJV-F2 be.alike-INTNS do;vbzr-PST.EXP
'It was because I realized that they had made an evil plan.It was then that I actually began to be afraid inside.'

'mit-ton-køp-pa
bet. gaati det tan-a
bet. (TE31)
NEG-send;vbzr-PROG;EXP-NMLZ;Q AUX bus stop IMMED-NMLZ;Q AUX
'In that place as a matter of fact according to police custom they used not to send the buses on their way. The bus stopped.'

A thief has run away and is travelling in a bus which stops in a village. He did not know that the police habitually checks everything at that place.
17.170 'jak-ki 'ama di di-mu bet.
yak-GEN mother DEF female.yak-F1 COP
di-mu di di-mu di gas-60 bet.
female.yak-F1 DEF female.yak-F1 DEF be.pleased-SUP COP
\begin{tabular}{lllllll} 
'khun & \(\mathbf{d i}\) & ta & ma & \(\mathbf{d i}\) & di-mu & \(\mathbf{d i}\) \\
true & DEF & EMPHP & CONTR1 & & DEF & female.yak-F1
\end{tabular}
ga6-60 juj-ken bet. (TE32)
be.pleased-SUP come-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'The mother of a yak is a female yak. Female yak is the best. In fact the truth really is that female yak is the best.'

In this text the writer tells about yaks and various hybrids of yak and cow.This is an evaluating statement.

\section*{Exception sentence relator jan}

There is another exception sentence relator ja引, CONTR2 which marks very much the same kind of relation as ma di does. As for jay the relation may be either anaphoric or cataphoric. The English translation may be one of the following conjunctions: 'on the other hand, at least, however, instead'.
17.171 u-la kurik khanta tohit-t6e ek juj-ken bet.
that-DAT all what do;vbzr-SBJV INCLN come-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
jan u-ki dzo di-ki tuku mit-jun-ken
CONTR2 that-GEN dzo DEF-GEN calf NEG-come-NMLZ;CONJ
bet. u-ki jan uko rapt6et bet. (TE32)
AUX that-GEN CONTR2 that barren COP
'Any kind of work will be OK for a dzo. However it does not reproduce. It is barren.'
Speaker has been talking about different kinds of work one may do with dzo and now he states that there is one negative quality, it is barren. jan marks the contrastive 'on the other hand, however' relation to previous assertions.
17.172 se-ni le di thup nam 'rø tohi-ni
eat-NFNT2 work DEF finish[PST] darkness become do;vbzr-NFNT2
lok-na jun-a bet. ha jan nempet jan
return-NFNT1 come-NMLZ;Q AUX now CONTR2 tomorrow CONTR2
thopu doole-ki le-la 'phim-pa bet. (TE16)
bond.friend monkey-GEN work-DAT go.come[PST]-NMLZ;Q AUX
'After they had eaten (lunch), their work finished and it became dark, therefore they returned home. Then next day they both went to work on bond friend monkey's field instead.'

This one is from an oral fable about monkey and pheasant who become bond friends. First they both go to work for the pheasant for one day. Next day they go to work for the monkey 'instead'. The scene of activity changes and speaker indicates it with this corrective sentence relator. Though the relator is adjacent to the NP 'tomorrow' it signals the change of the scene in relation to the whole preceding section.

\subsection*{17.173 day-harin tson gø tshun-na \\ yesterday-today sell need.to happen-NFNT1}
jan 'jak-la dzapa ' \(\quad\) a thuk sir-køt-na
CONTR2 yak-DAT hundred five six say-PROG;EXP-NFNT1
dzo-la dyn dzet sik-kel-la 'lik-ken bet. (TE32)
dzo-DAT seven eight say-NMLZ;CONJ-DAT come-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Nowadays if (someone) happens to have a need to sell and he says that the price of a yak is 500-600, then the price of a dzo would reach at least 7-800.'

This example illustrates jan as marking a kind of corrective contrastive wording of the previous conditional clause.
jay nani marking independent clauses in a paratactic relation which translates into English like 'Either... Or...Or'.

\subsection*{17.174 jan nani 'khur-let t6hi-ton.}

CONTR2 CONFIRM bring-SCI say-1PL.HORT
jan nani kynnak ky-toj.
CONTR2 CONFIRM theft steal-1PL.HORT
jan nani 'jar-ton.
CONTR2 CONFIRM borrow-1PL.HORT
'Let us either tell him saying:"Give it!" Or let us steal it! Or let us borrow it!'
The speaker is giving three options to his friends how to go about getting a thing from someone.

\section*{'on the one hand ---on the other hand' exception relator}

When the particle jay occurs in two consequtive clauses or sentences, it produces the known English relation 'on the one hand ---on the other hand' between the sentences.

The two sentences marked with the particle jay are not independent and therefore I still call it exception relator. The next examples illustrate this though there is an extra unmarked sentence in between:
17.175 nuk tohi-pa phøt-laŋ-taŋ dujka dzak-p-e jaŋ-la
this.way do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q Tibetan-bull-COM bullfight vbzr-NMLZ;Q-GEN time-DAT
phøt-laŋ-la tohy jun-ken bet jan.
Tibetan-bull-DAT wisdom come-NMLZ;CONJ AUX CONTR2
thuu than tohy thay di phøt-lay-la juj-ken bet. perseverance and wisdom and DEF Tibetan-bull-DAT come-NMLZ;CONJ AUX 'jak-la jan tsanta jun-ken bet. (TE32)
yak-DAT CONTR2 cleanliness come-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'When a Tibetan bovine bull fights with a yak the Tib. bull has wisdom. On the one hand Tib. bull has perseverance and skill. On the other hand yak has cleanliness.'

This is a written story about yak. Speaker begins to describe how Tib. bull and yak fight with each other. He compares them and jan marks the contrastive relation, 'on the one hand.... on the other hand'.

The exception relator jay may be reiterated which highlights the exception relation 'on the one hand ---on the other hand' between the sentences or clauses. The next example illustrates this:

jan ian pha-la 'jak tan-na
CONTR2 CONTR2 cow-DAT yak send;vbzr-NFNT1
jan jan dzo dzo-mu kii-ken bet jan. (TE32)
CONTR2 CONTR2 dzo dzo-F1 be.born-NMLZ;CONJ AUX CONTR2
'On one hand if (someone) breeds the dzo with a bovine bull, then it actually conceives a bovine bull. On the other hand if (someone) breeds the bovine cow with a yak, then it actually conceives a male dzo or female dzo.'

This story tells about crossbreeding bovine cows and yaks.

\section*{'Instead, on the contrary, as a matter of fact' correction sentence relator}

The counter-expectation particle ka may be used as a sentence relator which marks correction contrast between two sentences and the preceding chunk of discourse. Both sentences are marked with the CEP. The preceding assertion in the text is that the roles were reversed and this corrects it. There is more about CEP in section 9.2.2.
\begin{tabular}{cll}
17.177 ran & ka & thø-son. \\
2SG & CEP & \begin{tabular}{l} 
escape-PST.VIS \\
ja
\end{tabular} \\
ka & 'tshik-t6un. (TE20) \\
1SG & CEP & become.burned-PST.EXP
\end{tabular}
'On the contrary you ran away. And in fact I was burned.'
This is from a fable. Princess and a young man debate about who ran away and who was burned when they both were wild goats in previous incarnation. The speaker corrects the hearer's wrong assumption and argument.

\section*{'Otherwise' sentence relator}

This relator cen relates the current sentence to preceding clause or larger syntactic unit. It gives "the possibility if certain conditions are not met" (Watters David E. 2002. A Grammar of Kham. Cambridge University Press:349). In Lhomi this possibility is typically negative or even a warning. The relator occurs at the beginning of a clause or a sentence. Next couple of examples illustrate this. The English equivalents are: 'otherwise, under the circumstances, in this respect, in that case'.

'After obtaining manure we will have abundant harvest. It is then that we will have food in our area. Does it in our area truly produce harvest under the circumstances when we have not obtained any manure?'

Speaker is arguing that fields need sheep dung. The problem is that it does not come free. Those who need to be given food and beer are the sheep shepherds who with their flocks pass across the village twice a year on their way to higher pastures. The finite question clause has also counterfactual particle which anticipates a negative answer.
```

17.179 ma di 'khit-ran pyn ta bet de ek.
CONTR1 DEF 2PL-self brother EMPHP COP SCP INCLN
kurik das-si duk.
all be.alike-INTNS EXIST.VIS
sen tsik-ki men-na ak
otherwise one-ERG NEG.COP-NFNT1 INCLN
trik-ki ta tohip-pet ka wa 'ni.(TE47)
one-ERG EMPHP do;vbzr-INCH CEP MIR DM
'For sure you are truly brothers. You are all alike.
Otherwise if one wasn't, he would actually do it.'
Speaker is reprimanding his own uncles in this written text. They have not been

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looking after their own mother.

\section*{‘Tail-head' sentence relator}

In the next example there is a temporal linkage with some causal overlay. This kind of chaining is typical in oral narratives and travel reports. The previous event is linked to what follows. Often the only purpose is to lower the information load for the hearer. In the following example the sentence relator clause is an adverbial clause with causal overlay to what follows. The relevant parts of two sentences are underlined:

17.181 makpa 'khalun-ni mal-la hi-ni rukkama-la suu-pen.
makpa 'khalung-ABL down.there-DAT this-ABL rukkama-DAT enter-1PST
rukkama-la suu-ni pimpa 'nøruk-ki 'khim-la 'phim-pen. (TE3) rukkama-DAT enter-NFNT2 pimpa 'クøruk-GEN house-DAT go.come[PST]-1PST 'I (descended) down from Makpa Khalung and then entered Rukkama village. After I had entered Rukkama I went to the house of Pimpa Ngøruk.'

This illustration comes from an oral travel report in which the narrator often for discourse-pragmatic reasons repeats the last event before he proceeds to the next one. This "tail-head" linkage is very common in oral narratives but not so common in written texts.

\section*{Grounds/reason sentence relator}

The marker is actually an adverbial clause khanta hin sin-na which literally means 'saying what is' or 'as for what is'. I have translated usually this clause: 'The reason is that', 'because' or 'it is because'. This sentence relator gives the prominent reason or explanation for previous events or arguments which typically cover the previous sentence but may cover larger syntactic unit than a sentence.
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17.182 u-ni ja 'aku passa\eta tcaa-la 'phin-na

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that-ABL 1SG uncle Passang at-DAT go.come[PST]-NFNT1
'aku-ran 'norin dzuu-let=te tohi-pen.
uncle-self service run-SCI=EMPH say-1PST
khanta hin sin-na u-p-e thø 'ak-pokma
what COP.EXP say-NFNT1 that-PL2-ERG plan evil-ADJVZR
tship-pa di j-e 'ha khoo-t6uŋ. (TE58)
do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q DEF 1SG-ERG aud.impact hear;understand-PST.EXP
'Then I went to uncle Passang and told him:"Uncle, please do the service work of Ngorimpa!" This was because I realized the evil plan which they (villagers) had made.'

This is a written text telling how the old administration used to work in the Lhomi area. Without his consent and knowledge the writer was elected to be a servant of a village leader. He certainly did not want that because there were all kinds of implications and responsibilities with that job. He realized that he was deliberately trapped. Therefore he goes to his own uncle and asks him to do it on his behalf. The grounds clause of this example gives the reason for the preceding syntactic unit which is larger than just a sentence.
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
17.183 rika di-la \(\quad\) thik 'tshuu-na & 'ni thyk-ken & di-pa-la \\
forest DEF-DAT bring be.able-NFNT1 & DM drag-NMLZ;CONJ DEF-PL2 \\
le 'Inaa jun-ken & bet. & \\
work easy come-NMLZ;CONJ AUX &
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{llll} 
khanta hin & sin-na & rika-la 'thok-ken di \\
\hline what COP.EXP & say-NFNT1 & forest-DAT take-NMLZ;CONJ DEF
\end{tabular}
'If a man is able to take a bride for himself in a forest, then it will be easier for those who drag her away. This is because in a forest there are not many who would attack and take her forcefully back.'

If a man has to drag the bride from inside her home, it is going to be difficult since there are so many family members who would attack and try to take her back.
This example is from a story which tells how a young Lhomi man takes a bride for himself forcefully and typically without her or her parents' consent. He has companions who literally drag her away. Her family members attack and try to take her back home. The reason clause gives the grounds for the preceding argument.

\subsection*{17.5 Coordinate structures}

\subsection*{17.5.1 Contrastive relation in paired clauses}

Negated first clause and dropping of its auxiliary
Just like Kham (see Watters David E. 2002. A Grammar of Kham. Cambridge University Press:347) Lhomi does not have any word equivalent to English 'but'. Lhomi drops the auxiliary from the non-final clause of the pair to mark paired opposition which in English is marked by "but".

It is the first clause of the pair which marks the "but" relation and which is marked by negation and dropping of the auxiliary 'bet'. There is no other marking that marks the contrastive relation in these paired clauses. An affirmative first clause would not work for this.

If the auxiliary is retained both clauses would be full independent clauses and the contrastive relation would be lost. The past and nonpast formula for this pair is as follows:

NEG-V-pa / V-pa bet NMLZ;Q AUX
NEG-V-ken / V-ken bet NMLZ;CONJ AUX
No other verbal suffixes are allowed for this structure. It is the latter clause which governs the tense of both clauses. Consider the following examples:
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17.184 dzaap-Y phumu-la kii-ni 'ni
king-GEN daughter-DAT be.born-NFNT2 DM
rekket 'ama di-ki mi api 'tchok-ø doj-pa
m.goat mother DEF-ERG man grandma male-GEN face-M2
'mit-ta sin-ni
NEG-look.at[NPST] say-NFNT2
dzaap-Y 'khim-ni pakka-la 'mat-thøm-pa
king-GEN house-ABL outside-DAT NEG-come.out-NMLZ;Q
'khim-tu dep-pa bet. (TE21)
house-LOC stay-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Having born as a princess, the mountain goat mother said: "I will never look at the
face of a male person", and she did not come out from the palace but lived inside.'
In this example the princess did not want to see a male person and therefore decided to remain inside the palace. 'But' is the best translation in English to mark the contrastive relation of the paired clauses.

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\subsection*{17.185 ni u-ki 'naptsara di-ki khanta tohit 'mat-tshuu-pa \\ that-GEN ugly.one DEF-ERG what do;vbzr NEG-be.able-NMLZ;Q \\ uko nuk=ran le-nar-a bet. (TE21) \\ that like.that=FOC remain-COMPL-NMLZ;Q AUX \\ 'The ugly one could not do anything but remained just like that.' \\ Four men are making plans on how to marry a princess. Each has his own excellent talent and plan but the fourth one has nothing at this stage. Later he turns out to be the hero and succeeds to get the princess. The first clause is marked for contrastive opposition.}
17.186 'pim-e 'tshik-la suu-na ta=tu 'phin-na
ears-GEN among-DAT enter-NFNT1 look.at=PURP go.come[PST]-NFNT1
topere di nuk tshi-pa sun 'mat-tshuu-pa
topere DEF that.way do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q arrest NEG-be.able-NMLZ;Q
pulis di-pa dap-na pur-na 'tshi-la
police DEF-HUM1 shook.off-NFNT1 throw-NFNT1 outside-DAT
thø-nar-a bet. (TE28)
escape-COMPL-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Policemen went inside the house to look for Topere among the corn cobs, but they were not able to arrest him, he pushed them off instead and escaped outside.'

This example describes how police tried to arrest a man who had committed a murder. The subject changes after 'mat-tshuupa but the hearer gets a clue from the next NP pulis dipa which is marked (absolutive) for patient/object. There is also a slight corrective overtone here and though there is no overt grammatical marker for it I have added "instead" in English translation.

The following example illustrates the same contrastive relation with nonpast verbs:
17.187 ni phin-na ak 'ni jok jok mit-t.hhik-ken
sink-NFNT1 INCLN DM shiver shiver NEG-do;vbzr-NMLZ;CONJ
naa døk-ken bet.
lay.down stay-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
u-tu=ran 'khaa-ki 'tshik-tu hi-ni naa-ni 'ni
that-LOC=FOC snow-GEN amidst-LOC this-ABL lay.down-NFNT2 DM
tsa 'ak mit-sa-ken bet. (TE32)
grass INCLN NEG-eat-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Even though it becomes buried (in snow) it does not shiver but lays down.
Having laid down in snow, it does not even eat any grass.'
This text tells about yak as a domestic animal. It prefers to live in high altitude.
Snow does not bother it a all.

\section*{Exception contrast}

Longacre talks about exception as a variety of contrast in his article. (see Longacre Robert E. 2007. Sentences as combinations of clauses, In Timothy Shopen, ed.
Language typology and syntactic description, Volume II: Complex constructions.
Cambridge University Press:379). The following illustrations show how Lhomi handles this kind of contrastive relation:
17.188 rukkam-e mi khajet di tsik 'rii toik pyp-p-e

Rukkama-GEN man plural DEF one two one put.aside-NMLZ;Q-GEN
mi kurik 'lit-tsun. (TE82)
man all arrive-PST.EXP
'All people of Rukkama (village) came except just one or two.'
This could be rephrased: 'All men of Rukkama came except one or two did not come.' The verb pyt is used elsewhere with its original meaning 'to put aside'. However in this construction it is fully grammaticalized to mark exception contrast.

\subsection*{17.5.2 Co-ranking structures}

I have already discussed some of these structures in section 14.4.2-3 on alternative questions and in section 17.3 on complement clauses. The term, co-ranking comes from R. Longacre (see Longacre Robert E. 2007. Sentences as combinations of clauses, In Timothy Shopen, ed. Language typology and syntactic description, Vol.

II: Complex constructions. Cambridge University Press:238) and applies to the relations described in the current section. Either--or relation is also discussed in section 17.4.
'Either-or' relation with two or three alternatives
17.189 'aku 'tshirin do-køtan na 'ani dzaamu do-køtaŋ.
uncle 'tshiring go-NMLZ or aunt dzaamu go-NMLZ
'Either uncle Chiring goes or aunt Jyaamu goes'.
Speaker knows that one of those two will go but he does not know which one.
17.190 gotta harin jun-køtan nempet jun-køtan na

3SG today come-NMLZ tomorrow come-NMLZ or
'naan juŋ-køtan.
day.after.tomorrow come-NMLZ
'He either comes today or tomorrow or day after tomorrow.'
Speaker knows that one of the alternatives will materialize but he does not know which one.

\section*{'Neither-nor' relation}

The paratactic clauses are in square brackets in the following example:
\(\begin{array}{rll}17.191 \text { [daku } & \text { tsara } & \text { 'mit-t6øk-ken ] } \\ \text { friend } & \text { whereabout } & \text { NEG-cut-NMLZ;CONJ }\end{array}\)
[nuk tohi-na dzop dzop-la mit-døk-ken]
this.way do;vbzr-NFNT1 together together-DAT NEG-stay-NMLZ;CONJ
ni jari jari u-ntuk tohi-na jan dakp-Y some some that-ADVZR do;vbzr-NFNT1 CONTR2 owner-GEN
loo-la juy-na uko nuk trhi-na uko dakp-y
beside-DAT come-NFNT1 that this.way do;vbzr-NFNT1 that owner-ERG
'thon-ni nuk t6hi-na [u-ko 'simtsen-ki
see-NFNT2 this.way do;vbzr-NFNT1 that-head wild.animal-ERG
'søt 'mit-tshuu-ken]
kill NEG-be.able-NMLZ;CONJ
[u-ko dzarok-la ak mit-dzak-ken ]
that-head crevasse-DAT INCLN NEG-fall.off-NMLZ;CONJ
\(\begin{array}{lll}\text { [dzilin-la } & \text { ak } & \text { 'mit-hap-ken ] } \\ \text { vine-DAT } & \text { INCLN } & \text { NEG-tangle.up-NMLZ;CONJ }\end{array}\)
[thaako-la ak 'mit-tshar-ken ]
cliff-DAT INCLN NEG-fall.down-NMLZ;CONJ
u-ko nuk t6hi-na døk-ken bet. (TE30)
that-head this.way do;vbzr-NFNT1 stay-NMLZ;CONJ AUX 'It [neither looks a friend up (sheep)] [nor stays with the flock.]
On the other hand if it comes to the shepherd, the shepherd can see it and therefore [neither a wild animal can kill it] [nor does it fall off to a crevasse] [nor does it become tangled up in vines] [nor does it fall down from a cliff] but stays just like that.'

This is from a text that describes the life of sheep and shepherd. The negated clauses in brackets are in juxtaposition and are in paratactic relation to each other. However they all are negated and in contrastive 'but' relation to the main clause in the end.

\section*{'The more..... the more' construction}

This construction uses a particle tshan which is a Nepali loan.Very rarely does Lhomi borrow from Nepali a word which has syntactic function. Most loans are nouns.

'The more one pushes it from behind the more it stops.'
This is the behaviour of a sheep. The shepherd may push it moving from behind but it stubbornly does not go.

\subsection*{17.193 tshan 'siraa tok-tu dzap-na}
more hail large-COMP1 vbzr-NFNT1
tshan riki-la toøn toj-ken bet.
more potatoe-DAT damage send;vbzr-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'The larger the hails are the more it damages the potatoes.'

\title{
17.6 Elaboration, paraphrase, amplification, exemplification and frustration
}

Paraphrasing a NP within a clause:
17.194 [na 'khim-la] [ 'ama papa teaa-la] lok-na \(\quad\) jun-en.
1SG home-DAT mother father at-DAT return-NFNT1 come-1PST
'I returned home to my parents.'

The paraphrased NP is the locative argument of the verb. The NPs are juxtaposed and the case marking is in both. The latter NP does not really elaborate but is an equivalent to the first one.

Next two examples illustrate negated higher gradient paraphrase:
17.195 hi-ko 'tsha-tsetmu mem-pa thonok bet.
this-head feel.hot-ADJVZR NEG-NMLZ;Q warm COP
'This is not hot but just warm.'
17.196 roo thaypu bet.

3SG honest COP
ni hin-na ak nantak-ki thay-so=ran mip-pa bet. COP-NFNT1 INCLN very-GEN honest-SUP=FOC NEG.EXIST-NMLZ;Q AUX 'He is an honest man. But he is not all that honest. Or...not very honest.'

Generic - specific paraphrase:

\subsection*{17.197 roo-ki toptse dzap-tuk.}

3SG-ERG cooking vbzr-PRF.VIS
ni tuwa-la te tsø-tuk.
food-DAT rice cook-PRF.VIS
'He has done the cooking. For food he has cooked rice.'
The word tuwa typically refers to cooked millet but also to cooked rice.

Amplification paraphrase:

\subsection*{17.198 roo-ki 'lu lin-son.}

3SG-ERG song sing-PST.VIS
'lu 'nampa 'pii lin-son.
song type two sing-PST.VIS
'He sang. He sang two different songs.'
The second occurrence of the verb (sentence) adds some more information therefore this could be called also generic--specific or recapitulation. (see Longacre Robert E. 2007. Sentences as combinations of clauses, In Timothy Shopen, ed. Language typology and syntactic description, Volume II. Complex constructions:382)

Contraction paraphrase:
17.199 'aku 'thet=tu mit-do. ma di=ran mit-do.
uncle meet=PURP NEG-go[NPST] CONTR1 DEF=FOC NEG-go[NPST]
'I will not go to see uncle. No way, I go.'
Exemplification using alternatives:
17.200 'tshøna 'mappu hin kappu hin nakpu hin
color red COP white COP black COP
khanta tohur-na ak dik-pet.
what become-NFNT1 INCLN fit-INCH
'Whether it becomes red or white or black, any color will do.'
Speaker is replying to someone's question about what color to use in coloring a piece of cloth.

Exemplification using an example:
17.201 u-ko ga-tee mip-pa him-pa
that-head be.good-ADJVZR NEG.EXIST-NMLZ;Q COP-NMLZ;Q
'sii-kin 'sii-kin khanta-la no-ken?
know-NMLZ know-NMLZ what-DAT buy-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
u-ki 'mite 'thon-mon=a na?
that-GEN example see-NEG.PST.EXP=Q RSPNS
'While knowing that it is no good, why do you buy it? Haven't you seen any examples?

Father is rebuking his son who has purchased a thing which is no good. Example refers to others who have purchased the same item.

Exemplification using an illustration:
17.202 jappu jampu-tu 'tshøtm-e thay khanta ak at.summer Kathmandu-LOC vegetable-GEN anything what INCLN mit-jun-et hi-ki pi raj-la 'set jon. NEG-come-INCH this-GEN illustration 2SG-DAT tell intend 'No vegetable grows in Kathmandu at summer.I tell you an illustration of it.' Then speaker goes on telling his illustration how he tried.

Frustrated cause:
17.203 u-ko nuk=ran sa-ma sa=tu jun-a hin-to.
that-head this.way=FOC eat-F2 eat=PURP come-NMLZ;Q AUX-PROB
ni hanten mat-noj-son.
today NEG-receive-PST.VIS
'Probably he came to eat a free meal. Today he did not get one.'
Speaker is referring to a third person.

Frustrated attribution:
17.204 ŋ-e dak-y 'aku passan u-ko

1SG-GEN friend-ERG uncle passang that-head
iki 'khe-si duk si-kuk. mem-pet u-ko.
writing skill-INTSN EXIST.VIS say-PROG;VIS NEG-COP that-head
u-ki ma di iki di=ran 'mit-sii-pet.
that-ERG CONTR1 DEF writing DEF=FOC NEG-know-INCH
'My friend says: "Uncle Passang is a good reader." No, he isn't. In fact he cannot read and write at all.'

Frustrated obligation:
17.205 day ja daku teaa-la do go-køt.
yesterday 1SG friend to-DAT go have.to-PROG;EXP
ni do 'tshuu-mon.
go be.able-NEG.PST.EXP
'Yesterday I had a need to go to my friend. However I wasn't able to go.'

Frustrated facility:
17.206 dan ja daku tsaa-la 'phin-na do 'tshuu-køt. yesterday 1SG friend to-DAT go.come[PST]-NFNT1 go be.able-PROG;EXP ni hin-na ak 'mat-phin.

COP-NFNT1 INCLN NEG-go[PST]
'Yesterday I would have been able to go to my friend. Yet I didn't go.'
Note again how the tense is marked. In the first sentence it is the time adverb that fixes the point of time. The finite verb is nonpast. In the latter the finite verb is marked for past tense.

\section*{18. Discourse}

\subsection*{18.1 Developmental marker 'ni}

\section*{DM marking a non-finite clause}
"Particularly in SOV languages that permit several subordinate clauses to precede the main verb, a developmental marker is often attached to the end of a subordinate clause (to act as a spacer and) mark the transition to the development described in the next clause."(Levinsohn, Stephen H. and Bob Dooley. 2001. Analyzing discourse: A manual of basic concepts. Dallas: SIL Internationa:93). This is exactly what happens in Lhomi discourse. I have called this marker a developmental marker DM.

The next example comes from a travel narrative. It is interesting that the speaker uses the verb 'come' rather than 'go'. The reason is that the deictic center is his home and also the place where his story was recorded, sahib's place. Normally home or home village is the deictic center for Lhomis. Therefore one never 'goes home' but 'returns home' or 'comes home'.

This text consists mainly of events which are in temporal order and it is the past tense which marks every event. The developmental marker 'ni marks a non-final tail-head linkage clause and signals that the speaker is going to tell what happened after he arrived home. The clause thus marked sets the start of a new development or a sub-theme. I have underlined the whole clause which is marked by DM.

\section*{18.1 'khim-la juy-en.}
house-DAT come-1PST
'khim-la jun-ni 'ni
house-DAT come-NFNT2 DM
\begin{tabular}{llll} 
'sajip-so & tcaa-la jun-a-la & & 'tshap-tcun. \\
sahib-PL1 & at-DAT & come-NMLZ;Q-DAT & hurry-PST.EXP \\
hi-ni & jay & kyntukpa & 'lit-tsun. \\
this-ABL & CONTR2 & kyntukpa & come-PST.EXP
\end{tabular}
kyntukpa jun-ni 'sa tsik-la pajisak 'khaa thuk 'luk-pen.
kyntukpa come-NFNT2 field INDF-DAT money 20 six put-1PST
'khaa thuk 'luk-ni 'sajip-ki teaa-la jun-en. (TE3)
20 six put-NFNT2 sahib-GEN at-DAT come-1PST
'I came home. Having come home I hurried to come to sahib's place. Then at the same time Kyntukpa came. Since he came I gave him 120 rupees for a piece of field. Having paid him 120 rupees I came to sahib.'

There is a kind of new short episode following the developmental marker. Speaker indicates that he intended to come to sahib right away after his arrival at home.But someone came and that delayed him.

\section*{18.2 'setni hassøt go di dum. \\ kill-NFNT2 VIP head DEF chop.off[PST] \\ 'クin di '6e-ni}
heart DEF split.open-NFNT2
pussyt 'thu khay 'mikma 'suŋmar-e pussyt 'thu khay 'thøn.
hair cubit one 'mikma 'sungmara-GEN hair cubit one come.out[PST] ' \(\quad \mathrm{hin}\) di the.
heart DEF cut.off[PST]
go di lakpa di the-ni 'ni
head DEF hand DEF cut.off-NFNT2 DM
hassøt 'khur-ni 'mintsun jøruk t6el-la 'phim-pa bet. (TE17)
VIP carry-NFNT2 'mintsung ŋøruk at-DAT go.come[PST]-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Having killed him (they) chopped the head off. After they split the heart open, a piece of Mikma Shungmara's hair, one cubit long came out. They chopped the heart off. After they had chopped off the head and the arm, they took them and went to Mintsung Ngøruk.'

This story tells what happened at the time when Lhomis settled in the area. The tale-head linkage (underlined) is marked again by DM.

Two characters were commissioned to murder the victim, Mikma Shungmara. And they had to chop the head and an arm off to prove that they had done what they were supposed to do. Then they take them and go to M.Ngøruk, who had commissioned them. The climax of the whole narrative comes very soon after these events. VIP (climax marker) gives the hint.

Note also that the important same subject rapid consequtive events are past verb roots. That highlights the events in this story. In chapter 17.2. there is more about serial verbs.
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
18.3 & ni keri & '6i-na & na & 'ni & \\
& leader.sheep & die-NFNT1 & RSPNS & DM & \\
& keri & di & mit-na & & \\
& leader.sheep & DEF & NEG.EXIST-NFNT1 & & 'ni \\
& & DM
\end{tabular}
luk tsas-sa-la 'thik-na do 'mit-tshuu-ken. (TE30)
sheep grass-land-DAT take-NFNT1 go NEG-be.able-NMLZ;CONJ
'If the leader sheep dies, if there is no leader sheep, (shepherd) is not able to take the sheep to a pasture.'

This text tells about herding sheep. Speaker tells about his own experience. If the condition is actualized then the consequence is also actualized and the shepherd is in real trouble. He cannot take the rest of the fold anywhere. The conditional clause is reiterated using a different verb and then marked by DM. This whole sentence highlights the importance of the leader sheep.
18.4 ni phiy-na ak 'ni jok jok mit-t6hik-ken
sink-NFNT1 INCLN DM shiver shiver NEG-do;vbzr-NMLZ;CONJ
naa døk-ken bet.
lay.down stay-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
\(\left.\begin{array}{lllll}\text { u-tu=ran } & \text { 'khaa-ki } & \text { 'tshik-tu } & \text { hi-ni } & \text { naa-ni }\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l}\text { 'ni } \\ \text { that-LOC=FOC }\end{array}\right)\) snow-GEN \(\begin{array}{lll}\text { amidst-LOC this-ABL } & \text { lay.down-NFNT2 } & \text { DM }\end{array}\)
tsa 'ak mit-sa-ken bet. (TE32)
grass INCLN NEG-eat-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Even though it becomes buried (in snow) it does not shiver but lays down.
Having laid down in snow, it does not even eat any grass.'
Speaker draws the attention of the hearer to his assertion that follows the DM. This is about yak which lays down in snow and needs no grass for days.

\section*{DM marking a NP and other syntactic units}
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18.5 cak-ni ha 'lama 'ni \etaa-la phu mit.
put-NFNT2 now Lama DM 1SG-DAT son NEG.EXIST.EXP
phu phu-mu mit.
son son-F1 NEG.EXIST.EXP

```
    ha ja-la phu toik 'naj-ro tohi. (TE18)
    now 1SG-DAT son INDF give[HON]-AID do;vbzr[IMP]
    'Having put up (the lama in the palace) the king said:"Lama I have no son. I have
neither a son nor a daughter. Please do give me a son." '

The king addresses the powerful lama with low forms which is OK for a king. From here onwards the lama is put through all kinds of tests to find out if his talents match his reputation. He is supposed to help with his religious skills so that the queen would have a son. DM always follows the syntactic unit it marks.
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18.6 phits-e da-la 'ni 'si-ni
chld-GEN with-DAT DM die-NFNT2
rekket 'ama di tij-laa

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mountain.goat mother topic after-ADVZR
dzaap-r phumu-la kii-pa bet. (TE21)
king-GEN daughter-DAT be.born-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Because the mother goat died with the child she was later born as a princess.'
It is worthy to note that the DM marks this time a PP. It is not just any kind of death but the death which had resulted from the compassion for the child. And this is rewarded in next life. It is the PP 'with the child' which is marked by DM.

'After (the rich one) had given a bag of money to the one called "ugly", he (the ugly one) put on really nice clothing, dressed up as a woman and went to the palace gate of the king.'

It is the activities of the ergative marked subject which is developed here. All other participants had failed.

\section*{18.8 too-let.}
harvest[IMP]-SCI
ha 'ni tok=tu 'phim-pen. (TE9)
now DM harvest=PURP go.come[PST]-1PST
'Go to harvest! Then I went to pick some ears of millet.'
Someone else tells him to go to harvest. Then speaker goes. It is the time adverb which is now marked by DM.

\section*{18.2 'As for' topic sin-na}

I have elsewhere called this marker a quotative because it normally marks the end of a direct speech. There is more about that under evidentials in chapter 13.2.6 . However this same marker may also mark almost any syntactic unit as a highlighted topic. Typically it marks a NP or a non-final CL.

The marker sin-na marks the preceding syntactic unit, a CL or NP. The following examples illustrate this marker (the marker is underlined):
18.9 la khajet-la 'ryt 'tshetmit dzap-ni 'ryt sin-na
hill plural-DAT landslide a.lot vbzr-NFNT2 landslide say-NFNT1
'sosso-la dそap-ni amam mam mam mam mam (TE8)
each-DAT vbzr-NFNT2 ...
'Huge amount of landslides took place in the mountains, as for these landslides they happened on every hill and....'

This oral story is an eyewitness report of the big earthquake that took place in the 1930s. Speaker starts telling about landslides which were numerous and devastating in his area.
18.10 thaypuu mi puŋsaya 'saya than dzikri long.time.ago man healthy powerful and phys.strong tsik-tsøt tsik-ki 'nøtok tshi-na se-pa bet. one-amount INDF-ERG will do;vbzr-NFNT1 eat-NMLZ;Q AUX
[ni kha-ntuk tohi-na se] sin-na what-ADVZR do;vbzr-NFNT1 eat[PST] say-NFNT1
thaypuu damtanma-tu damtanma-a
first Damdangma-LOC Damdangma-HUM2
mi toik tshuy-a bet. (TE34)
man INDF become-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Long time ago a group of healthy and strong men exploited people eating as they liked. As for how they ate, long time ago there was a villager in Damdangma village.'

The clause which is highlighted by sinna is in brackets. The two sentences above set the stage for the main part of the story in which a gang of five brothers exploited the whole village. sinna marks a question clause to which the speaker gives the answer in the story. The preceding sentence is a kind of heading for the whole story. The current clause elaborates the main heading and begins to describe how these evil characters behaved.

\subsection*{18.11 'khit-ran \\ 2PL-self each-self do;vbzr-SBJV \\ 'nø-na}
khanta-la pempu køk-ken?
what-DAT leader appoint-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
\begin{tabular}{llcrl} 
[pemp-r & 'kha-la & nen-tse] & sin-na & ka \\
headman-GEN & mouth-DAT & obey-SBJV & say-NFNT1 & CEP \\
pempu \(\quad\) kø-pa & hin-to & nani. (TE46) & \\
headman appoint-NMLZ;Q & AUX-PROB & CONFIRM &
\end{tabular}
'If each of you wants to do things on his own, why do you appoint a leader?In fact you have appointed the leader for the very purpose to be the one whom you should obey, haven't you.'

This is from a speech in which the village leader speaks to obstinate villagers who do not obey him. The purpose clause in square brackets is highlighted here. This is a powerful argument to get the villagers to submit themselves again under speaker's authority.

\subsection*{18.3 VIP marker hassøt in a discourse}
hassøt marking a prominent participant in a narrative
This marker is lexically empty and therefore it is like a particle that has only discourse level function. I use the label "very important participant", VIP which I got from the book 'Analysing Discourse' (Levinsohn, Stephen H. and Bob Dooley. 2001. Analyzing discourse: A manual of basic concepts. Dallas: SIL International:119).

The following example comes from the story of monkey and pheasant. It is the monkey which will turn out to be more stupid of those two. The climax comes when the monkey tries to lay an egg and sits down on a hot frying pan. Therefore the monkey is marked as the major participant. When the actual climax approaches the speaker uses other syntactic devices to mark the important events that lead to the climax. Speaker marks the monkey twice in this example. Marker is underlined. Nothing significant happens in this example yet but the speaker alerts the hearer with this marker that it is the monkey which is going to be the central figure of the whole story. This marker never occurs later in this story.
\(\left.\begin{array}{llllll}18.12 & \text { hi-ni } & \text { 'liplip-la 'lok } & \text { tohi-ni } & \text { hi-ni } & \text { 'khur-ni } \\ & \text { this-ABL } & \text { flat-DAT } & \text { turn.around } & \text { do;vbzr-NFNT2 } & \text { this-ABL } \\ \text { carry-NFNT2 }\end{array}\right]\)

VIP b.friend DEF at.DAT go.come[PST]-NFNT2 work do;vbzr-ground DEF-LOC hassøt doole 'aku doole thopu di than
VIP monkey uncle monkey b.friend DEF and
roo-ran gø-na se-pa bet. (TE16)

3SG-self divide.up-NFNT1 eat-NMLZ;Q AUX
‘Then she (pheasant) flipped it (fried egg) around to make it flat, carried it, went to her monkey friend in the place of work and then monkey, uncle monkey the bondfriend and herself divided it up and ate it.'

This example is about one third way through the story and from now onwards the stage is all the time monkey's.

\subsection*{18.13 'sajisajip tsel-la 'phin-ni \\ sub-inspector at-DAT go.come[PST]-NFNT2}
'tshitti 'khaasa khajet kimathank-e 'khaasa khajet
letter mail plural kimathanka-GEN mail plural
hassøt 'sajisajip-la butse tohi-pen. (TE3)
VIP sub-inspector-DAT sort.out do,vbz-1PST
'After I had gone to the police sub-inspector, I made him to sort out and read all mail to Kimathanka.'

In this text which is an oral first person travel story there is only one participant, the police sub-inspector who is marked with this VIP marker though he appears only once in the narrative which has some 60+ sentences. hassøt marks the police officer as the major participant whom the speaker met on that day.

In the following story there are 9 occurrences of this marker. (TE21, the whole story is annotated at the end of this grammar sketch). The story has four young fellows who one by one try to marry the princess of the country. Finally the ugly one, the most unlikely character succeeds. Others have all failed by the time he tries. I have listed below the occurrences of the marker within the story. The numbering refers to the sentences of the text. I have underlined the parts of my comments that are marked by hassøt in the actual text. All important developments, plans and setting for the final stage are marked by hassøt. Towards the climax most actions of the major participant are also marked by hassøt. The hero is on stage all the time after sentence 41.
12. This sentence introduces the ugly one. Though it seems first that he has no chance to succeed, he is an ugly man, he has no money, he is not strong etc. Nevertheless he will be the hero of the story and is marked as such already here. All four are introduced in this section but the ugly one is introduced first.
22. It is the handsome who tries first. He seems to have the best chance, being handsome. Perhaps that is the reason why this sentence is marked by hassøt. He fails. Two other ones also fail one by one. The story tells very vividly their attempts.
41. The ugly one tries to get access to see the princess but first fails. He does not succeed in going right away to the princess but he is on the right track.
42. The ugly one remains for a week with the washing lady and helps her in washing the laundry of the royal family. He has dressed up himself as a young woman. This is an important development and preparation for the final success.
59. The ugly one has been able to find out the secret why the princess does not come out of the palace. Now he calls his friends to help in a group dance which they are going to perform to the king himself. It is this new plan which is marked by hassøt. This is the stage of the coming climax.
64. The ugly one and his friends sing and dance for the king their faces covered with masks. This smart plan is marked by hassøt.
67. They are invited and they perform the dance for the king. And it is this event of performance which is marked by hassøt.
69. They pass around a rumour and finally the princess comes out to rectify the rumour they have told. It is the public appearance of the princess which is marked by hassøt.
72. The king gives his daughter for marriage to the ugly one. This is the climax of the story.

This VIP marker does not only mark the prominent participant but also important actions of the participant and important developments of the narrative
\begin{tabular}{lllllll}
18.14 & u-ni & ka & hassøt & ajekp-e pi-la & te-na \\
that-ABL & CEP & VIP & & ajekpa-GEN example-DAT & watch-NFNT1
\end{tabular}
mi 'joŋma-a kurik-ki tok dzak-t6e
man other-COMP2 all-ERG walking.stick vbzr-SBJV
'sii-pa bet. (TE57)
know-NMLZ;Q AUX
'In fact it was then that all others watching the example of Ayekpa learned to rest by putting the walking stick under the load.'

This example comes from a narrative which tells how a great liar called Ayekpa cheats a rich man and carries without resting a heavy load of grain all the way up a steep hill. There are 21 sentences in this story and only the last one is marked by hassøt. This is the teaching part of the story. Up to that time Lhomis did not know how to put the walking stick under one's load and rest without actually unloading the load. This is rather important skill that they are now using all the time. Though the story is a written narrative hassøt marks an evaluation, a good outcome of a bad act.
hassøt marking the primary information in non-narrative discourse
18.15 'nama 'mak dzak-ken uko tsawa di phumu


\subsection*{18.16 ni 'aku 'sarki-ki jay tin-laa ta mi kurik hi-la suu do-jet sir-son. ni gempu karm-e lo tsik 'pii tcik 'siraa hi-ko 'mat-ruŋ-a cak-ton=te ta kha-ntuk tohit. hi-ni hassøt 's-Y go-la 'khii-kø-tan te-ton sir-soŋ. (TE58) \\ 'Then uncle Sarki said: "Afterwards all villagers are going to go that way"} Gembu Karma said: "Let us leave (the fields) for one or two years unprotected against hail storm and see what will happen! Then let us watch who is going to get the blame!" In the text 58 some villagers want to refuse the annual collective payments for the lamas who are supposed to protect the village against the hail storms which often damage the potato harvest in April. There are various arguments for and against but only this one is marked by hassøt. There are 64 sentences in the text. The speaker of this section is himself a lama and his rationale is that those who would not participate for the money collection would get the blame if the hail storm comes. And they would have no way to defend themselves in the event of a hail storm. It is a smart and best plan for those who want to continue the old collective ritual and hassøt marks it as such. Later this plan in fact actualized.

\section*{Table 18.1 Summary of the VIP marker in discourse}
(I have listed below some of my observations about how hassøt contributes to discourse pragmatics in Lhomi.)
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline Narrative & non-narrative \\
\hline marks a major participant & marks an explanation for the story \\
\hline marks a hero or a villain & marks primary information \\
\hline highlights the actions of a major participant & marks primary argument \\
\hline highlights the plans of a major participant & \\
\hline marks the stage for the climax & \\
\hline marks the final evaluation of the story & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{18.4 Rhetorical questions in Lhomi}

Rhetorical questions in Lhomi make use of grammatical question markers but the question never requests information from the hearer or hearers. A rhetorical question always anticipates either an affirmative or a negative answer. My remarks in this section are preliminary and I recognize that more research needs to be done on rhetorical questions in Lhomi. Consider the following sections of two different texts (rhetorical questions are underlined):
18.17 ni u-ntuk tohi-na le tohi-na ak that-ADVZR do;vbzr-NFNT1 work do;vbzr-NFNT1 INCLN
dan-kuk=ka 'ni?
be.satisfied-PROG;VIS=Q DM
'khit-ran khajek-ki le tohip-pa-la tan-na
2PL-self plural-ERG work do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q-DAT send;vbzr-NFNT1
'khit-ran khajek-ki mi-la mip-p-e le
2PL-self plural-ERG man-DAT NEG.EXIST-NMLZ;Q-GEN work
tohik-ken bet. ni u-ki 'khit khajet
do;vbzr-NMLZ;CONJ AUX that-INS 2PL plural
ga-ntija=ran dan-kuk=kak?
be.happy-ADVZR=FOC be.satisfied-PROG;VIS=Q
'khit-ran mit-day-a \(\quad \mathrm{j}\)-e 'thon-ken bet. (TE46)
2PL-self NEG-be.satisfied-NMLZ;Q 1SG-ERG see-NMLZ;CONJ AUX
'Even though you work hard that way, are you satisfied? Having committed yourselves to work, you all work like no one else. Does that work really bring you satisfaction? I see that you are not satisfied.'

Satisfaction refers to abundance of food. The village leader is trying to get the villagers to participate in placating a god which would guarantee a good harvest. The same rhetorical question is repeated twice in this section and the speaker himself answers them. The anticipation is 'no' because the harvest is never all that good.

law be.alike-INTNS-DAT make-NFNT1 put.leave-PST.EXP=Q or
's-y kar-ki hiko t6hik-køp=pa? (TE58)
who-GEN obligation-INS this do;vbzr-PROG;EXP=Q
'I replied: "Did the king of Kathmandu make it a law telling: "This you must do" or who puts you under obligation to do this?" '
'Lit....by whose obligation are you doing this?
Speaker is asking these two questions to the villagers and to two government secretaries who are also present. The answers to both questions are obvious to everybody. This scene is from a village trial. After this the defendant continues and further developes the answer for the latter question.

\section*{Interrogative quotative used as a rhetorical question}
18.19 api-la 'trhuku tsik'ik lin-na 'mit-tøt
grandma-DAT jar.of.water one INCLN go.get-NFNT1 NEG-give[NPST]
sik-ken na? (TE47)
say-NMLZ;CONJ.Q RSPNS
'Do you say:"I/we will not go and get a single jar of water for the grandma?"' Speaker is using benefactive quotative to reprimand the recipients of his letter. In quotes he is using the kind of wording which they would never utter. Of course they would normally go and get some water for their mom/grandma. The point is that they have now neglected to do so. This is a powerful rebuke and as such an attempt to improve the situation because the writer is overstating the negligence of his readers.
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18.20 'khik-ki mit-t6hit-na 'jon 'su di-ki
2PL-ERG NEG-do;vbzr-NFNT1 another who DEF-ERG
tchi jon sik-ken? (TE47)
do;vbzr intend say-NMLZ;CONJ.Q
'If you do not do it, who else is going to say:"I'll do it."
The writer argues that the recipients are the only ones who can really help the
grandma. The answer is obviously 'no one'.

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\subsection*{18.5 Prominent successive events in narrative discourse marked by verb roots}
18.21 'jok-pu 'phipsekpa di-ki pekjunm-e dun tsik ke service-M1 'phipsekpa DEF-ERG bamboo-GEN spear INDF load[PST]
pupu tsyntsun-ki patan tsik su toik 'khur tohi-na

Pupu tsyntcung-ERG sword INDF bow INDF carry[PST] do;vbzr-NFNT1
'phim-pa bet u-ni jal-la. (TE17)
go.come[PST]-NMLZ;Q AUX that-ABL up.there-DAT
‘Servant Phipshekpa loaded (on his back) a bamboo spear and Pupu C. carried a sword and a bow and in that manner they went to high country.'

This example illustrates how the speaker may drop all the suffixes from the medial verbs when the climax is approaching.

These two men have been hired to murder a man and they had soldiers with them but they all deserted. After that these two characters set out for chasing the victim with their weapons. This is the setting for the final scene which takes place a few sentences later. The anticipation for the climax builds up already in this serial verb construction.

Two underlined verb roots ke and 'khur are highlighted medial verbs which form a medial manner clause with the final verb tohi-na. The finite verb for the whole sentence is 'phimpa bet. The following formula summarizes this common pattern of clause chaining in Lhomi :

Medial clause V[PST] Medial clause V[PST] Final clause t6hi-na Matrix CL

If there are two or more medial clauses in a chain and if they are highlighted by past roots without affixation then the whole chain is linked to the finite matrix clause/verb by tohi-na which has the NFNT1 marker which typically marks a medial clause.
18.22 'thet-ni hassøt pupu tsyntsuy thay 'jojma 'rup-ni 'ni meet-NFNT2 VIP pupu tsyntcung and other act.jointly-NFNT2 DM do 'rup dzap-ni 'mikma 'suクmara duk-sa-tu rocks act.jointly vbzr-NFNT2 'mikma 'sungmara rinse-ground-LOC gayi 'sep-pa bet.
backwards kill-NMLZ;Q AUX
'set-ni hassøt go di dum.
kill-NFNT2 VIP head DEF chop.off[PST]
'מin di '6e-ni pussyt 'tha khan
heart DEF split.open-NFNT2 hair cubit one
'mikma 'suymar-e pussyt 'tha khan 'thøn.
Mikma 'sungmara-GEN hair cubit one come.out[PST]
'nin di the.
heart DEF chop.off[PST]
go di lakpa di the-ni 'ni hassøt 'khur-ni
head DEF arm DEF chop.off-NFNT2 DM VIP carry-NFNT2
'mintcuŋ ŋøruk t6el-la 'phim-pa bet. (TE17)
'mintcung ŋøruk at-DAT go.come[PST]-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Having finally met him Pupu Cynt6ung and others acted jointly and stoned Mikma Shungmara to death. Having killed him they chopped the head off. After they had split open Mikma Shungmara's heart, a piece of his hair, one cubit long came out of it. Having chopped off his heart, his head and his arm, they took them and went to Mintøung Ngøruk.'

This is the climax of the story. They now go to hand over those body parts to Mintsung Ngøruk who had commissioned them. I have treated already in section 17.2.1 the kind of clause chaining which also happens here. However this example is different from those in 17.2.1. After 'set-ni there are five same subject medial verbs and one which does not have the same subject, the one with the verb 'thøn.
-The first underlined verb root is dum. This is medial verb which highlights the importance of this action.
-The second underlined verb is 'thøn. This also is another medial verb which highlights the importance of this strange event.
-The third underlined verb is the. This is the third medial verb which is highlighted in this chain. After this verb there is a tail-head linkage and another medial verb marked with NFNT2. The finite matrix verb of this whole chain is 'phim-pa bet.
18.23 phitsa-tan da-la det-ni hi-ni mirek-ki 'ama di 'tshik. child-COM with-DAT stay-NFNT2 this-ABL fire-INS mother DEF burn.up[PST] 'Because the mother stayed with the child, she was burned up by the fire.'
phitsa di 'tshik.
child DEF burn.up[PST]
'The child was burned up.'
'6i-nar-a bet. (TE21)
die-COMPL-NMLZ;Q AUX
'(They both) died.'
This piece of text does not have the same kind of chain structure as the previous one. The clauses are not co-referential but the verb roots are highlighted without suffixation as finite verbs of a sentence.

\section*{19. Texts \\ 19.1 Monkey and pheasant (TE16)}

Speaker is Wantsin Lama, age about 45, recorded in 1974, oral text, audience Olavi Vesalainen, a fable, genre narrative with some teaching in the end.
1. thaypuu-ki pitam trik 'luk-toy=te 'ala.
ancient-GEN story INDF put-1PL.HORT=EMPH still
'Let us put on tape one more story!
2. thanpuu doole tsik than khirik trik thopu dzap-a bet. long.ago monkey INDF and pheasant INDF bond.friend vbzr-NMLZ;Q AUX 'Long time ago a monkey and a pheasant formed a seremonial friendship.
3. thopu dzap-ni
b.friend vbzr-NFNT2
harin nempet di khirik-ki le-la 'phim-pa bet. today tomorrow DEF pheasant-GEN work-DAT go.come[PST]-NMLZ;Q AUX 'Having made the seremonial friendship they next day went to do the work of the pheasant.
4. thopu doole di than khirik di le 'ok=tu 'phin-ni
b.friend monkey DEF and pheasant DEF work till=PURP go.come[PST]-NFNT2 jimmu jin khan 'oo-pa bet. day day one till-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Having gone to till the field they worked for a whole day.'
5. khirik di dzara t6om=tu lok-pa bet. pheasant DEF snack cook=PURP return-NMLZ;Q AUX
'The pheasant returned home to cook late lunch.'
6. hi-ni 'khim-la lok mi taj. 'laja gar. this-ABL house-DAT return[PST] fire send;vbzr[PST] frying.pan put.on.fire[PST]
'laja di-ki 'thok-la dze-ni gojak tsik tearik-la tse.
frying.pan DEF-GEN on.top-DAT climb-NFNT2 egg one easily-DAT lay[PST]
'She (pheasant) returned home, made the fire, put the frying pan on fire.
Having climbed on top of the frying pan she laid an egg.'
\(\begin{array}{llll}\text { 7. hi-ni } & \text { 'liplip-la 'lok t6hi-ni } & \text { hi-ni } & \text { 'khur-ni } \\ \text { this-NFNT2 } & \text { flat-DAT flip do;vbzr-NFNT2 } & \text { this-ABL } & \text { carry-NFNT2 }\end{array}\)
hassøt thopu di teaa-la 'phin-ni le t6his-sa di-tu
VIP b.friend DEF at-DAT go.come[PST]-NFNT2 work do;vbzr-ground DEF-LOC
hassøt doole 'aku doole thopu di than
VIP monkey uncle monkey b.friend DEF and
roo-ray gø-na se-pa bet.
3SG-self divide-NFNT1 eat-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Having flipped it around to make it flat, she carried it to the bond friend monkey at the work place and then bond friend monkey and herself divided it up and ate.'
8. se-ni le di thup nam 'rø tohi-ni eat-NFNT2 work DEF finish[PST] darkness become[PST] do;vbzr-NFNT2
lok-na jur-a bet.
return-NFNT1 come-NMLZ;Q AUX
'After they had eaten the work finished and it became dark, therefore they returned home.'
9. ha jan nempet jan thopu doole-ki
now CONTR2 tomorrow CONTR2 b.friend monkey-GEN
le-la 'phim-pa bet.
work-DAT go.come[PST]-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Next day they actually went to do the work of the b.friend monkey.'
10. hi-ni le tshit=tu 'phin-ni this-ABL work do;vbzr=PURP go.come[PST]-NFNT2
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
dzara trom=tu lok-pa bet di. & doole di.
\end{tabular}
snack cook=PURP return-NMLZ,Q AUX monkey DEF
'Having gone to work the monkey returned to cook a snack.'
\begin{tabular}{ccll} 
11. hi-ni & mi & taj. & 'laya \\
this-ABL & fire & make[PST] & frying.pan
\end{tabular}
'lana di 'mappu-la 'son.
frying.pan DEF red-DAT go[PST]
'He made fire, put the frying pan on fire and the frying pan became red.'

frying.pan DEF-GEN on.top.of-DAT climb[PST]
'Having said:"Shall I lay an egg or?", he climbed on top of the frying pan.
\begin{tabular}{llllll} 
13. 'sinten & di & tsilik di & hi-ni & 'sinten & 'mappu di \\
buttock & DEF bottom DEF this-ABL & buttock red & DEF tightly
\end{tabular}
daa-na 'khur-a bet. 'laja di-la daa-ni
get.stuck-NFNT1 carry-NMLZ;Q AUX frying.pan DEF-DAT get.stuck-NFNT2
'As for the red bottom he has, having attached his buttock on frying pan it got stuck.'
14. thopu khirik di ta=tu juŋ-a bet.
b.friend pheasant DEF look.at=PURP come.NMLZ;Q AUX
'Pheasant friend came to watch.'
15. junni thopu khirik di
come-NFNT2 b.friend pheasant DEF
'6ekkek-ki '6ekket '6or '6or '6or
laughter-GEN laughter burst.out[PST] burst.out[PST] burst.out[PST]
'Having come the pheasant friend burst into laughing and laughed and laughed.'

\section*{16. 'cor-ni 'mik di=ra刀 'mappu-la tap-na 'khur-a bet.} burst.out-NFNT2 eye DEF=FOC red-DAT go-NFNT1 carry-NMLZ;Q AUX 'Because she laughed and laughed so much her eyes became red.'
17. doole di 'tham daa-nar-a bet. monkey DEF tightly get.stuck-COMPL-NMLZ;Q AUX
'The monkey got stuck.'
18. doole-ki '6inten juŋ-tse di hiko bet thøn di. monkey-GEN buttock come-SBJV DEF this COP reason DEF
'The reason for monkey's buttock becoming (red) is this.'
\(\begin{array}{lll}\text { 19. khirik 'sekket } & \text { '6or-ni } & \text { 'mik jun-tce } \\ \text { pheasant laughter burst.out-NFNT2 eye come-SBJV } & \text { di } \\ \text { DEF }\end{array}\)
thøn di hiko bet.
meaning DEF this COP
'The reason for pheasant's eyes becoming red is because she laughed.'
20. ग-e
di u-tsøt
t6ik=ran bet.
1SG-GEN DEF that-amount INDF=FOC COP
'My story is this much.'
21. dzoo-son.
finish-PST.VIS
'It is finished.'

\subsection*{19.2 Wild Goat, a fable with some lamaistic elements (TE21)}

Wild goat, a fable. Speaker Jyaapu Lhomi recorded in 1975, audience Olavi Vesalainen, oral text.
\begin{tabular}{llll} 
1. thaypuu rekket & nantsan 'nii tohun-a \\
long.time.ago mountain.goat wife two happen-NMLZ;Q AUX \\
'Long time ago there was a mountain goat couple.'
\end{tabular}
\(\begin{array}{llllll}\text { 2. rekket } & \text { nantsan 'nii-pu } & \text { di thaako-tu dep-pa bet. } \\ \text { mountain.goat } & \text { wife } & \text { two-M1 } & \text { DEF cliff-LOC } & \text { live-NMLZ;Q AUX }\end{array}\)
'This mountain goat couple settled in a rocky area.'
\begin{tabular}{cll} 
3. thaako-tu & det-ni \(\quad\) tsilik-ni & jal-la \\
cliff-LOC & stay-NFNT2 bottom-ABL & upward-DAT
\end{tabular}
mi manuw-e mirek par-na jur-a bet.
man human-ERG slash\&burn burn-NFNT1 come-NMLZ;Q AUX
'After they had settled on rocky area, a human being from the bottom of the valley came upward doing slash and burn.
4. mirek par-na juŋ-ni rekket papa di thø-nar-a bet.
big.fire burn-NFNT1 come-NFNT2 mountain.goat father DEF flee-COMPL-NMLZ;Q AUX 'When he came doing slash and burn, the father mountain goat fled.'
5. 'ama di phitsa kii-ni phitsa-la 'pin 'tsha-j-e
mother DEF child be.born-NFNT2 child-DAT heart feel.hot-NMLZ;Q-INS
phitsa-tan da-la dep-pa bet.
child-COM with-DAT stay-NMLZ;Q AUX
'As for the mother, because a child had been born for her, she felt compassion and remained with the child.'
6. phitsa-tan da-la det-ni hi-ni mirek-ki 'ama di 'tshik. child-COM with-DAT stay-NFNT2 this-ABL fire-INS mother DEF burn.up[PST]
'Because the mother stayed with the child, she was burned by the fire.'
7. phitsa di 'tshik.
child DEF burn.up[PST]
'The child was burned up.'
8. '6i-nar-a bet.
die-COMPL-NMLZ;Q AUX
'(They both) died.'
\(\begin{array}{cllll}\text { 9. 'ama di } & \text { phitsa-la } & \text { 'nin } & \text { 'tsha-j-e } & \text { 'ni } \\ \text { mother } & \text { DEF child-DAT } & \text { heart } & \text { feel.hot-NMLZ;Q-INS } & \text { DM }\end{array}\)
\(\begin{array}{llllll}\text { 'ama } & \text { di } & \text { 'сi } & \text { gø } & \text { 'вar-a } & \text { bet. } \\ \text { mother } & \text { DEF } & \text { die } & \text { need.to } & \text { start-NMLZ;Q } & \text { AUX }\end{array}\)
'Because the mother felt compassion towards the child she had to die.
\(\begin{array}{rlll}\text { 10. phits-e } & \text { da-la } & \text { 'ni } & \text { 'si-ni } \\ \text { child-GEN } & \text { with-DAT } & \text { DM } & \text { die-NFNT2 }\end{array}\)
rekket 'ama di tij-laa dzaap-Y phu-mu-la kii-pa bet.
m.goat mother DEF after-ADVZR king-GEN son-F1-DAT be.born-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Because she had died with the child, the m.goat mother later was born as a princess.'
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
11. dzaap- \(\mathbf{y}\) & phumu-la & kii-ni \\
king-GEN daughter-DAT & be.born-NFNT2 & DM
\end{tabular}
rekket 'ama di-ki mi api 'trhok-ø don-pa
m.goat mother DEF-ERG man grandma male-GEN face-M2
'mit-ta sin-ni dzaap-r 'khim-ni pakka-la
NEG-look.at[NPST] say-NFNT2 king-GEN house-ABL outside-DAT
'mat-thøm-pa 'khim-tu \(\quad\) dep-pa bet.
NEG-come.out-NMLZ;Q house-LOC \begin{tabular}{l} 
stay-NMLZ;Q AUX
\end{tabular}
'After being born as a princess, the m.goat mother said:"I will not look at the face of a male
person", and therefore she did not come out of the palace but stayed inside.'
12. Iona 'yaptsu 'thuk det-ni year fifty till stay-NFNT2
tin-laa hassøt mi jan 'naptsara tsik tohun-a bet.
after-COMP2 VIP man CONTR2 ugly.man INDF become-NMLZ;Q AUX
'After she had lived (that way) for fifty years, in fact an ugly man came into being.
\begin{tabular}{llllll} 
13. sømpuwa hi-ni & jan & 'tshukpu & & \\
\multicolumn{1}{c}{ young this-ABL } & CONTR2 & rich & & \\
dzu t6em-m-e & 't6hukpu & t6ik & t6hun-a & bet. \\
property with-F2-GEN & rich & INDF & become-NMLZ;Q AUX
\end{tabular}
'At the same time a wealthy young man came into being.'
14. ni mi golo-wa tsik t6hun-a
bet.
man beauty-HUM1 INDF become-NMLZ;Q AUX
'And a handsome man came into being.'
\begin{tabular}{lllll} 
15. ni & 'onpu t6em-ma & toik & tshur-a & bet. \\
health with-F2 & INDF & become-NMLZ;Q AUX
\end{tabular}
'And a strong man came into being.'

\section*{16. u-tsøt tsik ha khajet thø tshi-ni \\ that-amount INDF now plural plan do;vbzr-NFNT2}
dzaap-y phumu 'nama-la lin-ton tshi-pa bet.
king-GEN daughter wife-DAT go.get-1PL.HORT say-NMLZ;Q AUX
'They all made plans and said:"Let us go and ask the princess for marriage!" '
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline 17. ni jan & thø tohi-ni lin-ton & trhi-ni \\
\hline CONTR2 & plan do;vbzr-NFNT2 go.get-1PL.HORT & do;vbzr-NFNT2 \\
\hline ha kha-ntuk & trhi-na lij-ken & trhi-pa bet. \\
\hline now what-ADVZ & do;vbzr-NFNT1 go.get-NMLZ;CONJ.Q & say-NmLZ;Q AUX \\
\hline Having made pla & s, they said: "Let us go and get her! B & how do we get her?'" \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{lllll} 
18. hi-ni & kha-ntuk & t6hi-pa & lin-ken & t6hi-ni \\
this-ABL & what-ADVZR & do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q go.get-NMLZ;CONJ.Q do;vbzr-NFNT2
\end{tabular}
golo-wa di-ki ja golo di=ran jom-na
beauty-HUM1 DEF-ERG 1SG beauty DEF=FOC display-NFNT1
'thik toj-ken t6hi-pa bet.
fetch IMMED-NMLZ;CONJ do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q AUX
'After they had said: "How do we go and get her?", the handsome one said:"I display my beauty and fetch her."
\begin{tabular}{lllll} 
19. hi-ni & jay 'onpu & t6em-ma & di-ki \\
this-ABL & CONTR2 & health & with-F2 & DEF-ERG
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{llll} 
'tohe ja 'onp-r=ran & 'kherak-ki 'thik ton-ken \\
DETERM 1SG & health-INS=FOC & force-INS fetch IMMED-NMLZ;CONJ \\
tohipa & bet. & &
\end{tabular}
do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Then the one who had strength said:"I will forcefully take her with my strength." '
\(\begin{array}{cllll}\text { 20. hi-ni } & \mathbf{u}-\mathbf{k i} & \text { dzu } \quad \text { t6em-ma } & \text { di-ki } & \text { dzu=ran } \\ \text { this-ABL } & \text { that-ERG property with-F2 } & \text { DEF-ERG property=FOC }\end{array}\)
pile tohi-na 'khartsa=ran pile tohi-na 'thik ton-ken
money do;vbzr-NFNT1 expenses=FOC money do;vbzr-NFNT1 fetch IMMED-NMLZ;CONJ
t6hi-pa bet.
do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q AUX
'The one who had property said:"I fetch her by using money and wealth."'
\(\begin{array}{rlll}\text { 21. ni u-ki } & \text { 'naptsara di-ki } & \text { khanta tshit 'mat-tshuu-pa } \\ \text { that-GEN } & \text { ugly.one } \quad \text { DEF-ERG what } & \text { do;vbzr NEG-be.able-NMLZ;Q }\end{array}\)
uko nuk=ran le-nar-a bet.
that this.way=FOC remain-COMPL-NMLZ;Q AUX
'The ugly one could not do anything but remained as he was.'

23. ni golo-wa di-la dzaap-y diwti khajek-ki 'ni duŋ-na beauty-HUM1 DEF-DAT king-GEN guard plural-ERG DM beat-NFNT1
dit-na tan tohi-ni hiko 'thik 'mat-tshuu-pa bet.
chase-NFNT1 send;vbzr[PST] do;vbzr-NFNT2 this fetch NEG-be.able-NMLZ;Q AUX 'King's guards beat up the handsome one, chased him and sent him away, therefore he was not able to take her.'

\section*{24. ni 'onpu t6em-ma di 'phim-pa bet. health with-F2 DEF go.come[PST]-NMLZ;Q AUX}
'Then the strong one went.'
25. 'oŋpu tsem-ma di-ki 'ni diwti khajet-la duy. health with-F2 DEF-ERG DM guard plural-DAT beat[PST] thopaa tok duu-na pur-ni ma thopaa 'ala 'tsha-jet.
a.while EXPR pick.up-NFNT1 throw.away CONTR1 a.while still be.able-INCH
'The strong one beat up all the guards, for a while he just picked them up and threw out of the way and in fact he was just about able to do it.'
26. khajet roo-ki 'ala 'tsha-jet khajet ma di=ray. roo-ki
plural 3SG-ERG still be.able-INCH plural CONTR1 DEF=FOC 3SG-ERG
duu-na 'marili duu-na pur taj-a bet.
pick.up-NFNT1 totally pick.up-NFNT1 throw.away IMMED-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Actually he was still able. He in fact threw them all out of the way.'
\(\begin{aligned} \text { 27. ni 'iki dzaap-r } & \text { thokka-la 'lit-tse-ma } \\ \text { up.there king-GEN } & \text { door-DAT }\end{aligned}\)
t6hip-p-e jaj-la 'ala 'mat-tsha-jet.
do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q-GEN time-DAT still NEG-be.able[PST]-INCH
'When he was just about to arrive at the palace door he could not manage any more.'
28. ni dzaap-y diwti khajek-ki 'ni
king-GEN guard plural-ERG DM
'mak-mi khajek-ki 'ni dun-na dit-na tan tan-a bet.
war-man plural-ERG DM beat.up-NFNT1 chase-NFNT1 send;vbzr IMMED-NMLZ;Q AUX 'The guards of the king, the soldiers beat him up, chased him and sent him away.'
\begin{tabular}{cllll} 
29. hi-ni & dzu & tsem-ma & di & 'phim-pa \\
this-ABL & property with-F2 & DEF & go.come[PST]-NMLZ;Q AUX
\end{tabular}
'Then the one with property went.'
30. tin-laa pajisak booraa tsik khan 'khur-na 'ni after-ADVZR money bag one one carry-NFNT1 DM
dzu t6em-ma di pajisak di booraa di-ki diwti khajet di-la
property with-F2 DEF money DEF bag DEF-GEN guard plural DEF-DAT
bin-ki biy-ki bij-ki u-ni jal-la 'phin-ni 'ni give-NMLZ give-NMLZ give-NMLZ that-ABL up.there-DAT go.come[PST]-NFNT2 DM dzaap-y thokka di 'lit-t6e-ma t6hip-p-e
king-GEN door DEF arrive-SBJV-F2 do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q-GEN
jan-la pajisak di set-nar-a bet.
time-DAT money DEF finish-COMPL-NMLZ;Q AUX
'The wealthy one carried a bag of money with him and after he had gone giving all the way money to the guards his money was finished just when he was reaching the palace door.'
31. ni set-na 'ni 'iki suk=tu 'ni dzaap-y thokk-e diwti di-ki finish-NFNT1 DM up.there enter=PURP DM king-GEN door-GEN guard DEF-ERG 'ni duy tohit-tse dit-na tan tan-a bet.
DM beat do;vbzr-SBJV chase-NFNT1 send;vbzr IMMED-NMLZ;Q AUX
'The money finished and as the result the guards beat him, chased him and sent him away.'
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
32. u-la & 'ni & \(\mathbf{u}-\mathbf{k i}\)
\end{tabular}\(\quad\) 'thik 'mat-tshuu-pa.
'As for him, he was not able to fetch (her) for marriage.'
33. ha 'naptsara di-ki ha u-ko khanta mip-pa-la
now ugly.one DEF-ERG now that-head what NEG.EXIST-NMLZ;Q-DAT
'naptsara di-ki u-ki dzu t6em-ma 't6hukpu di-la
ugly.one DEF-ERG that-ERG property with-F2 rich DEF-DAT
u-ki tshi-pa bet.
that-ERG do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q AUX
'But the ugly one, since he had nothing, said to the wealthy one'.
34. ran-ki pajisak booraa 'nii 'sum teik 'khur-let=te.

2SG-ERG money sack two three INDF bring-SCI=EMPH
'nama=raŋ-la j-e 'jo kor-na bin jon tehi-pa bet.
bride-FOC-DAT 1SG-ERG other take.around-NFNT1 give intend do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Do bring me two or three sacks of money! I will impress the girl and give it to her.'
35. ni lawu na si-kin dzu t6em-ma di-ki

HAP RSPNS say-NMLZ property with-F2 DEF-ERG
pajisak booraa trik tep-pa bet.
money sack one give-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Saying :"OK", the wealthy one gave a sack of money.'
36. tet-ni 'naptsara sik-ken di-ki roo-ki 'ni khulak le rii le-si give-NFNT2 ugly.one call-NMLZ;Q DEF 3SG-ERG DM clothes work each work-INTNS khyn-ni phumu 'trhe dzap-na dzaap-r thokka-la 'phim-pa bet. wear-NFNT2 girl dressing.up vbzr-NFNT1 king-GEN door-DAT go.come[PST]-NMLZ;Q AUX 'After he had given the money, the one called ugly put on really nice clothes, dressed up himself as a girl and went to the palace gate.'
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 37. u-ko & 'phin-ni & roo-la & attset tsik & a \\
\hline that-head & go.come[PST]-NFNT2 & 3SG-DAT & little.bit INDF & before-ADVZR \\
\hline '6øt-tse & jøp-pa & bet. & & \\
\hline speak-SBJV & EXIST-NMLZ;Q & AUX & & \\
\hline 'He went and \(h\) & he had some information & ion beforeh & hand.' & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{lllll} 
38. dzaap- & teaa-na nuk tohi-pa & phu-mu & joyma-a toik \\
king-GEN & at-IN this.way do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q son-F1 & other-COMP2 INDF
\end{tabular}
nuk tohipa roo-ki le tohik-ken phu-mu 'jonma-a trik this.way do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q 3SG-GEN work do;vbzr-NMLZ;CONJ son-F1 other-COMP2 INDF khulak tykken nuk t6hi-pa toik jøp-pa bet. clothes wash-NMLZ;CONJ this.way do;vbzr-NMLZ;Q INDEF EXIST-NMLZ;Q AUX
sin-na '6øt-t6e jøp-pa bet.
say-NFNT1 speak-SBJV EXIST-NMLZ;Q AUX
'He knew ahead that there was a girl at the king's palace, a girl who was doing washing and other work.'
\begin{tabular}{lllll} 
39. u-ni & u-ko & 'naptsara di & 'phin-ni \\
that-ABL & that-head ugly.one & DEF go.come[PST]-NFNT2 \\
u-ki & diwti & khajet-la & j-e & matcik teaa-la do-ken
\end{tabular}
that-ERG guard plural-DAT 1SG-GEN aunt at-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ
sin-na 'elama dъap-na 'phim-pa bet.
say-NFNT1 lie vbzr-NFNT1 go.come[PST]-NMLZ;Q AUX
'The ugly one went, told a lie to the palace guards saying:"I go to my aunt."'
40. 'phin-ni u-ko taj-a bet.
go.come[PST]-NFNT2 that-head send;vbzr-NMLZ;Q AUX
'And they let him go.'
41. jan diwti khajek-ki taj-ni 'ni

CONTR2 giard plural-ERG send.vbzr-NFNT2 DM
roo 'iki dzaap-y thokka 'khim naŋ-la suu-pa bet.
3SG up.there king-GEN gate palace inside-DAT enter-NMLZ;Q AUX 'In fact after they let him go, he went through the gate and entered the palace.'
42. suu-ni 'ni matcik tcaa-la do-ken.
enter-NFNT2 DM aunt at-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ
matcik teaa-la do-ken.
aunt at-DAT go-NMLZ;CONJ say-NFNT2
matcik teaa-la 'phin-ni 'ni matcik di-ki hassøt 'iki-tu
aunt at-DAT go.come[PST]-NFNT2 DM aunt DEF-GEN VIP up.there-LOC
'thet-ni 'ni phum-y 'tohe dъap-ni 'ni hassøt hi-ni 'ni
meet-NFNT2 DM girl-GEN dressing.up vbzr-NFNT2 DM VIP this-ABL DM
dъaар-ч phumu tбaa-la u-ko 'mat-taŋ-a bet.
king-GEN daughter at-DAT that-head NEG-send,vbzt-NMLZ;Q AUX
'As soon as he had gone inside he said:"I go to my aunt, I go to my aunt", and he went to the "aunt", met her there but she did not let him go to the princess because he was dressed up like a woman.'

'Since she did not let him go to the princess, he stayed in the palace for about a week and helped the one called "aunt" to wash clothes, to do cooking and to do all kinds of work.'
44. ni tin-laa matsik di-la \(\quad\) dzaap-y phumu di-la
after-ADVZR aunt DEF-DAT king-GEN daughter DEF-DAT
45. thii-ni ka dъaap-y phumu-la matsik-ran 'phil-la ask-NFNT2 CEP king-GEN daughter-DAT aunt-self go-DAT
khanta-la pakka-la 'mit-thøŋ-ken? sin-na thii-let.
what-DAT outside-DAT NEG-come.out-NMLZ;CONJ.Q say-NFNT1 ask-SCI
sin-na taj-a bet.
say-NFNT1 send;vbzr-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Actually after he had asked, he sent the aunt telling her:"Go and ask the princess: "Why is it that you don't come outside?"'

'He instructed her saying: 'If she says: "I will not come out", tell in front of the princess saying:" I am going to tie a rope around my neck and die."'
\(\begin{array}{clllll}\text { 47. trhi-ni } & \text { ka } & \text { 'ni matsik } & \text { di nan-la } \quad \text { 'phim-pa } \\ \text { say-NFNT2 } & \text { CEP } & \text { DM aunt } & \text { DEF inside-DAT } & \text { go.come[PST]-NMLZ;Q AUX }\end{array}\)
'After he had instructed the aunt that way, she (aunt) actually went inside (the palace).'
\(\begin{array}{llll}\text { 48. dzaap- } & \text { phum-r } & \text { teaa-la } & \text { 'phin-ni }\end{array}\)
'khøt khanta-la pakka-la 'mit-thør-ken? tohi-pa bet.
2SG what-DAT outside-DAT NEG-come.out-NMLZ;CONJ.Q say-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Having gone to the princess she (aunt) asked her: "Why is it that you do not come outside?"'
\(\begin{array}{rlll}\text { 49. ni dzaap- } & \text { phumu di } & \text { na } & \text { pakka-la } \\ \text { king-GEN } & \text { daughter DEF } 1 \text { 'mG } & \text { outside-DAT } & \text { NEG-come.out[NPST] }\end{array}\)
tshi-pa bet.
say-NMLZ;Q AUX
'The princess replied:"I will not come outside."'
50. khanta-la 'mit-thøŋ-ken? tshi-pa bet.
what-DAT NEG-come.out-NMLZ;CONJ.Q say-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Why do you not come outside, asked the aunt?'
51. ni ja 'mit-thøn tshi-pa hiŋ-køp-pa bet.

1SG NEG-come.out[NPST] say-NMLZ;Q AUX-PROG;EXP-NMLZ;Q AUX
'She had said: "I will not come outside".'
52. raŋ pakka-la 'mit-thøn-na ja 'okma-la 'thakpa taa-na

2SG outside-DAT NEG-come.out-NFNT1 1SG neck-DAT rope tie.up-NFNT1
'si do-ken sin-na 'uu 'thakpa taa-pa bet 'okmadi-la.
die go-NMLZ;CONJ say-NFNT1 frustr. rope tie.up-NMLZ;Q AUX neck DEF-DAT 'The aunt said: "If you do not come outside, I am going to tie a rope around my neck and die" and tied a rope around her neck. '

y-e tam 'ret jon tshi-pa bet.
1SG-ERG message speak intend say-NMLZ;Q AUX
'The princess said:"Do not die, do not die, do not die! I am going to tell you the story."'
54. ni hi-ko ha '6øt-let sin-na nem-pa bet.
this-head now speak-SCI say-NFNT1 listen-NMLZ;Q AUX
'"Tell", the aunt said and listened.'
55. nen-ni ka dzaap-y phumu di-ki thappuu
listen-NFNT2 CEP king-GEN daughter DEF-ERG in.the.beginning
ŋа rekkek-ki 'tshi 'phal-lo-tu ŋа rekkek-ki
1SG mountain.goat-GEN life.span over.there-year-LOC 1SG mountain.goat-GEN
Iy lin-ni thaako-tu nuk tohi-na det-ni
incarnation take-NFNT2 rocks-LOC this.way do;vbzr-NFNT1 stay-NFNT2
クa-la phitsa kii-ni 'aja papa di tsilik maa-ni jal-la

1SG-DAT baby be.born-NFNT2 male father DEF bottom down.there-ABL up-DAT manuw-e mirek par-na jun-ni papa di thø-son. human-ERG fire set.on.fire-NFNT1 come-NFNT2 father DEF flee-PST.VIS 'As soon as she listened the princess told:"Long time ago, in the world beyond I got the incarnation of a mountain goat, lived in rocky area like this, after a baby was born to me, a human being came from lower area upward doing slash and burn and therefore the father ran away."
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56. \etaа phitsa-la '\etain 'tsha-j-e dep-pen.
1SG child-DAT heart become.hot-NMLZ;Q-INS stay-1PST
```
'I remained because I felt compassion for the child.'
57. ni ja nuk t6hi-na ja thø-na 'ni
    1SG this.way do;vbzr-NFNT1 1SG flee-NFNT1 DM
phits-e api 'tchok-ø doj-pa 'mit-ta sin-na
child-GEN grandma male-GEN face-M2 NEG-look.at[NPST] say-NFNT1
クa nuk tehi-na 'mit-thøm-pa jøt. nuk tohi-na
1SG this.way do;vbzr-NFNT1 NEG-come.out-NMLZ;Q EXIST.EXP this.way do;vbzr-NFNT1
'sep-pa bet.
speak-NMLZ;Q AUX
'As for me,I said to myself:" If I had run away that way I would not look at the face of a
male person anymore and as the result I have not come outside.' "
58. '6et-ni 'ni matcik di-ki u-ki 'naptsara di-la 'sep-pa bet. speak-NFNT2 DM aunt DEF-ERG that-GEN ugly.one DEF-DAT tell-NMLZ;Q AUX dzaap-y phum-r tam 'єep-pa.
king-GEN daughter-ERG speech tell-NMLZ;Q
'After she (the princess) had spoken, the aunt reported to the ugly one what the princess had told.'
59. u-tsøt trik '6et-ni 'ni 'naptsara di lok-na 'phim-pa
that-amount INDF speak-NFNT2 DM ugly.one DEF return-NFNT1 go.come[PST]-NMLZ;Q 'After she had reported that, the ugly one returned home.'
60. bet. mal-la jan lok-na 'phin-ni 'ni hassøt 'ni

AUX down.there-DAT CONTR2 return-NFNT1 go.come[PST]-NFNT2 DM VIP DM
u-ki piki-ki daku khajet di-taŋ dzom-ni 'ni
that-GEN there-GEN friend plural DEF-COM join-NFNT2 DM
daku khajet di-la ha hi-na \(\quad\)-e dzaap-Y phumu
friend plural DEF-DAT now here-IN 1SG-ERG king-GEN daughter
'jo kor 'tshar-en.
other take.around fall.off-1PST
'After he actually had returned home and joined his friends he told his friends:"I did
convince the princess".'
\begin{tabular}{lllll} 
61. na & ha hi-na & hatea-ran & khajet ha hi-na \\
& RSPNS now here-IN & 1PL.INCL-self & plural now here-IN
\end{tabular}
'Let us rehearse a song!"'
62. dzaŋ-ton t6hi-ni 'ni 'lu dzaŋ-a bet.
rehearse-1PL.HORT do;vbzr-NFNT2 DM song rehearse-NMLZ;Q AUX
'After he had told them:"Let us rehearse a song!", they rehearsed.'
63. 'lu dzan-ni dzaapu-la ha hi-na 'lu sapra 'phak-na dance rehearse-NFNT2 king-DAT now here-IN song dancing dance-NFNT1 bin-ton. 'lu tøn-ton. sin-ni 'suttsanatay-a bet. give-1PL.HORT song show-1PL.HORT say-NFNT2 hint send-NMLZ;Q AUX 'Having rehearsed a dance they said:"Let us perform the song and the group dance for the king!" and they send a message to him suggesting that.

65. 'tshul-la jan løn taj-ni roo-so juŋ-a bet.
towards-DAT CONTR2 message send;vbzr-NFNT2 3SG-PL1 come-NMLZ;Q AUX 'After they had actually sent another message to the king, they came.'
\begin{tabular}{llllll} 
66. jun-ni & 'ni dzaap-r don-tu & hassøt lu & lim-pa bet. \\
come-NFNT2 & DM & king-GEN before-LOC VIP song & sing-NMLZ;Q AUX
\end{tabular}
'Having come they sang a song with a group dance in front of the king.'
67. 'lu lin-ni 'naptsara di-ki tshetne-la bakapa khyn-ni
song sing-NFNT2 ugly.one DEF-ERG face-DAT mask wear-NFNT2
roo 'tchon-a bet.
3SG dance-NMLZ;Q AUX
'Having sung the song the ugly one wearing a mask on his face performed a leap-dance.'
68. roo 'tchon-ni 'jonma-a khajet di-ki 'lu lim-pa bet. 'After he had leaped and danced the others sang a song with a group dance.'

say-NFNT1 long.time.ago 1SG life earlier-F2-COMP2 DEF-DAT
rekkek-ki ly tshi-ni rekket phitsa kii-ni 'ni tsilik-nala wild.goat-GEN incarnation do;vbzr-NFNT2 wild.goat child be.born-NFNT2 DM bottom-ALL manuw-e mirek par-na juy-ni rekket 'ama thø-na 'khur. human-ERG big.fire ignite-NFNT1 come-NFNT2 wild.goat mother flee-NFNT1 carry[PST] papa phitsa-la 'pin 'tsha-j-e det-ni papa-tan phitsa father child-DAT heart feel.warm-NMLZ;Q-INS stay-NFNT2 father-COM child 'tshik-tøu!. tehi-let tshi-pa daku khajet di-la. be.burned-PST.EXP say-SCI say-NMLZ;Q friend plural DEF-DAT 'Those watching the scene said:"Why is he not revealing his face? Why is he not revealing his face?and the ugly one told all friends to pass around this: "In my previous incarnation I was born as a wild goat and after a baby was born a human being came at the bottom of the valley and ignited a large fire, then the mother fled, but I, the father, was burned with the baby because I felt pity for the baby and stayed with it."

\section*{71. daku khajet di-ki u-ntuk twhi-na t6or-ni 'ni}
friend plural DEF-ERG that-ADVZR do;vbzr-NFNT1 spread-NFNT2 DM
hassøt dzaap-Y phumu di gottsek-ni mal-la 'thøn-na juj-a bet.
VIP king-GEN daughter DEF door-ABL down-DAT come.out-NFNT1 come-NMLZ;Q AUX 'After the friends had spread that story around the princess came out from the door.'

\begin{tabular}{clll} 
73. 'naptsara & di-ki & ran ka & thø-son. \\
ugly.one & DEF-ERG & 2SG \(C E P\) escape-PST.VIS & 1SG \(C E P\) be.burned-PST.EXP
\end{tabular}
tshi-pa bet.
say-NMLZ;Q AUX
'The ugly one said:" In fact you escaped. And I was burned instead".
74. tohi-ni 'ni dzaapu di-ki hassøt lawu na 'khit-ran 'el-laa
say-NFNT2 DM king DEF-ERG VIP HAP RSPNS 2PL-self before-ADVZR
'tshi 'phal-lo-tu sami tshur-tuk.
life beyond-year-LOC couple become-PRF.VIS
hunto 'khit-ran sami=ran t6hi. sin-ni 'ni
now 2PL-self couple=FOC do;vbzr[IMP] say-NFNT2 DM
dzaap-y phumu di 'naptsara di-la bin-na tan tan-a bet. king-GEN daughter DEF ugly.one DEF-DAT give-NFNT1 send;vbzr IMMED-NMLZ;Q AUX 'After the ugly one had said that way, the king said:"OK, you have been a couple in your earlier life. Be a couple now!" Having said that the king gave his daughter to the ugly one.'
75. tan-ni 'naptsara 'thik twhit-tse tap-nar-a bet. 'Having given the princess the ugly one took her and went away.'
76. hi-ni hi-ni 'ni \(\boldsymbol{\eta}\)-e tam dzoo-son.
this-ABL this-ABL DM 1SG-GEN story end-PST.VIS
'After this my story has ended.'
Appendix: List of Standard Abbreviations (From the Leipzig Glossing Rules)
1 first person
2 second person
3 third person
A agent-like argument of canonical transitive verb
ABL ablative
ABS absolutive
ACC accusative
ADJ adjective
ADV adverb(ial)
AGR agreement
ALL allative
ANTIP antipassive
APPL applicative
ART article
AUX auxiliary
BEN benefactive
CAUS causative
CLF classifier
COM comitative
COMP complementizer
COMPL completive
COND conditional
COP copula
CVB converb
DAT dative
DECL declarative
DEF definite
DEM demonstrative
DET determiner
DIST distal
DISTR distributive
DU dual
DUR durative
ERG ergative
EXCL exclusive
F feminine
FOC focus
fut future
GEN genitive
IMP imperative
INCL inclusive
IND indicative
INDF indefinite
INF infinitive
```

INS instrumental
INTR intransitive
IPFV imperfective
IRR irrealis
LOC locative
M masculine
N neuter
N- non- (e.g. NSG nonsingular, NPST nonpast)
NEG negation, negative
NMLZ nominalizer/nominalization
NOM nominative
OBJ object
OBL oblique
P patient-like argument of canonical transitive verb
PASS passive
PFV perfective
PL plural
poss possessive
PRED predicative
PRF perfect
PRS present
PROG progressive
PROH prohibitive
PROX proximal/proximate
PST past
PTCP participle
PURP purposive
Q question particle/marker
QUOT quotative
RECP reciprocal
REFL reflexive
REL relative
RES resultative
s single argument of canonical intransitive verb
SBJ subject
SBJV subjunctive
SG singular
TOP topic
TR transitive
voc vocative

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[^0]:    4.32 daku di-pa
    friend DEF-PL2 return-COMPL-NMLZ;Q AUX
    'The friends returned home.'

